



The Transition:
Why Team Obama
Is Ready to Roll

Somalia:
The Worst
Place on Earth



Shaken but Stirring:
Bond Is Back
With a Vengeance

TIME



The New New Deal

What Barack Obama can
learn from F.D.R.—and what
the Democrats need to do

BY PETER BEINART



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Enbrel® (etanercept) is indicated for the treatment of adult patients (18 years or older) with chronic moderate to severe plaque psoriasis who are candidates for systemic therapy or phototherapy.

Important Safety Information

What important safety information do I need to know about taking prescription ENBREL?

ENBREL is a type of protein called a tumor necrosis factor (TNF) blocker that blocks the action of a substance your body's immune system makes called TNF. People with an immune disease, such as rheumatoid arthritis, juvenile idiopathic arthritis, ankylosing spondylitis, psoriatic arthritis, or psoriasis, have too much TNF in their bodies.

ENBREL can reduce the amount of active TNF in the body to normal levels, helping to treat your disease. But, in doing so, ENBREL can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections.

Serious infections, including tuberculosis (TB), have happened in patients taking ENBREL. Some of these serious infections have been fatal. Many serious infections occurred in people prone to infection. Serious infections have also occurred in patients with advanced or poorly controlled diabetes. Do not start ENBREL if you have an infection or are allergic to ENBREL or its components. Once on ENBREL, if you get an infection or have any sign of an infection, including fever, cough, or flu-like symptoms, or have

open sores, tell your doctor. Your doctor should test you for TB before starting ENBREL and should monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB.

Serious nervous system disorders, such as multiple sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes have been reported. There have been rare reports of serious blood disorders (some fatal).

In medical studies, more cases of lymphoma (a type of cancer) were seen in patients taking TNF blockers compared to similar patients who were not taking TNF blockers. The risk of lymphoma may be several-fold higher in people with rheumatoid arthritis and psoriasis; the role of TNF blockers in the development of malignancies is unknown.

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Learn more about moderate to severe plaque psoriasis, ENBREL, and patient support. Call 1-877-ENBREL4 or visit www.enbrel.com

Talk to your dermatologist today about ENBREL.
BECAUSE ENOUGH IS ENOUGH.

Tell your doctor if you:

- Think you have, are being treated for, have signs of, or are prone to infection
- Have any open sores
- Have or have had TB or hepatitis B
- Have ever been treated for heart failure
- Have ever had or develop a serious nervous system disorder
- Develop symptoms such as persistent fever, bruising, bleeding, or paleness while taking ENBREL

Common side effects in adult clinical trials were injection site reaction, infection and headache.

If you have any questions about this information, be sure to discuss them with your doctor. You are encouraged to report negative side effects of prescription drugs to the FDA. Visit www.fda.gov/medwatch, or call 1-800-FDA-1088.

Please see Medication Guide on the following page.



Medication Guide ENBREL® (en-brel) (etanercept)



Read the Medication Guide that comes with ENBREL® before you start using it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. This Medication Guide does not take the place of talking with your doctor about your medical condition or treatment with ENBREL®.

What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?

ENBREL® is a medicine that affects your immune system. ENBREL® can lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. Serious infections, including tuberculosis (TB), have happened in patients taking ENBREL®. Some patients have died from these serious infections.

Before starting ENBREL®, tell your doctor if you:

- think you have an infection
- are being treated for an infection
- have signs of an infection, such as a fever, cough, flu-like symptoms
- have any open sores on your body
- get a lot of infections or have infections that keep coming back
- have diabetes or an immune system problem. People with these conditions have a higher chance for infections.
- have tuberculosis (TB), or if you have been in close contact with someone who has had tuberculosis
 - Your doctor should test you for TB before starting ENBREL®
 - Your doctor should monitor you closely for signs and symptoms of TB during treatment with ENBREL®
- use the medicine Kineret® (anakinra)
- have or have had hepatitis B

After starting ENBREL®, if you get an infection, any sign of an infection including a fever, cough, flu-like symptoms, or have any open sores on your body, call your doctor right away.

ENBREL® can make you more likely to get infections or make any infection that you may have worse.

What is ENBREL®?

ENBREL® is a medicine called a Tumor Necrosis Factor (TNF) blocker. ENBREL® is used in adults to treat:

- **moderately to severely active rheumatoid arthritis (RA).** ENBREL® can be used alone or with a medicine called methotrexate.
- **psoriatic arthritis.** ENBREL® can be used with methotrexate in patients who have not responded well to methotrexate alone.
- **ankylosing spondylitis (AS)**
- **chronic, moderate to severe psoriasis**
- ENBREL® is used in children ages 2 years and older to treat **moderately to severely active polyarticular juvenile idiopathic arthritis (JIA).** ENBREL® has not been studied in children under 2 years of age.

ENBREL® can help reduce joint damage, and the signs and symptoms of the above mentioned diseases. People with these diseases have too much protein called tumor necrosis factor (TNF), which is made by your immune system. ENBREL® can reduce the amount of TNF in the body to normal levels and block the damage that too much TNF can cause, but it can also lower the ability of your immune system to fight infections. See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?" and "What are the possible side effects of ENBREL®?"

Who should not use ENBREL®?

Do not use ENBREL® if you:

- have an infection that has spread through your body (sepsis)
- have ever had an allergic reaction to ENBREL®

What should I tell my doctor before starting ENBREL®?

ENBREL® may not be right for you. Before starting ENBREL®, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- **have an infection.** (See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?")

- **have seizures, any numbness or tingling, or a disease that affects your nervous system such as multiple sclerosis**
- **have heart failure**
- **are scheduled to have surgery**
- **are scheduled for any vaccines.** All vaccines should be brought up-to-date before starting ENBREL®. Patients taking ENBREL® should not receive live vaccines.
- **are allergic to rubber or latex.** The needle cover on the single-use prefilled syringe and the single-use prefilled SureClick™ autoinjector contains latex.

Tell your doctor if you are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding. ENBREL® has not been studied in pregnant women or nursing mothers.

Pregnancy registry: Amgen has a pregnancy registry for women exposed to ENBREL®. The purpose of this registry is to check the health of the pregnant mother and her child. Talk to your doctor if you are pregnant and contact the registry at 1-877-311-8972.

Tell your doctor about all the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Your doctor will tell you if it is okay to take your other medicines while taking ENBREL®. Especially, tell your doctor if you take:

- **Kineret® (anakinra).** You have a higher chance for serious infections when taking ENBREL® with Kineret®.
- **cyclophosphamide.** You have a higher chance for getting certain cancers when taking ENBREL® with cyclophosphamide.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of them to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I use ENBREL®?

See the Patient Instructions for Use that comes with your ENBREL® product for complete instructions. ENBREL® is available as:

- ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled Syringe
- ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled SureClick™ Autoinjector
- ENBREL® Multiple-use Vial
- ENBREL® is given by injection under the skin
- Make sure you have been shown how to inject ENBREL® before you do it yourself. Someone you know can also help you with your injection.
- Your doctor will tell you how often you should use ENBREL®. This is based on your condition to be treated. **Do not use ENBREL® more often than prescribed.**
- Do not miss any doses of ENBREL®. Call your doctor if you miss a dose of ENBREL®. Your doctor will tell you when to take your missed dose.
- Your child's weekly dose of ENBREL® depends on his or her weight. Your child's doctor will tell you which form of ENBREL® to use and how much to give your child.

What are the possible side effects of ENBREL®?

Serious side effects have happened in people taking ENBREL®, including:

- **Serious infections including tuberculosis (TB).** See "What is the most important information I should know about ENBREL®?"
- **Nervous system problems** such as Multiple Sclerosis, seizures, or inflammation of the nerves of the eyes have occurred in rare cases. Symptoms include numbness or tingling, problems with your vision, weakness in your arms and legs, and dizziness.
- **Blood problems.** In rare cases, your body may not make enough of the blood cells that help fight infections or help stop bleeding. This can lead to death. Symptoms include a fever that doesn't go away,

bruising or bleeding very easily, or looking very pale.

- **Heart failure including new heart failure or worsening of heart failure you already have.** Symptoms include shortness of breath or swelling of your ankles and feet.
- **Allergic reactions.** Signs of an allergic reaction include a severe rash, a swollen face, or trouble breathing.
- **Immune reactions including a lupus-like syndrome.** Symptoms include a rash on your face and arms that gets worse in the sun. Symptoms may go away when you stop taking ENBREL®.
- **Lymphoma (a type of cancer).** People with rheumatoid arthritis or psoriasis may have a higher chance for getting lymphoma.

Call your doctor right away if you develop any of the above symptoms.

Common side effects of ENBREL® include:

- **Injection site reactions** such as redness, rash, swelling, itching, or bruising. These symptoms usually go away within 3 to 5 days. If you have pain, redness or swelling around the injection site that doesn't go away or gets worse, call your doctor.
- **Upper respiratory infections** (sinus infections)
- **Headaches**

These are not all the side effects with ENBREL®. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information.

How should I store ENBREL®?

- Store ENBREL® in the refrigerator at 36° to 46°F (2° to 8°C).
- **Do not freeze.**
- Keep ENBREL® in the original carton to protect from light.
- Keep ENBREL® and all medicines out of the reach of children.

General Information about ENBREL®

Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes not mentioned in a Medication Guide. Do not use ENBREL® for a condition for which it was not prescribed. Do not give ENBREL® to other people, even if they have the same condition. It may harm them and it is against the law. This Medication Guide summarizes the most important information about ENBREL®. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about ENBREL® that was written for healthcare professionals. For more information call 1-888-4ENBREL (1-888-436-2735).

Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

What are the ingredients in ENBREL® Single-use Prefilled Syringe and the Single-use Prefilled SureClick™ Autoinjector?

Active Ingredient: etanercept

Inactive Ingredients: sucrose, sodium chloride, L-arginine hydrochloride and sodium phosphate

What are the ingredients in ENBREL® Multiple-use Vial?

Active Ingredient: etanercept

Inactive Ingredients: mannitol, sucrose, tromethamine.

Issue Date: 06/2008

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To Our Readers

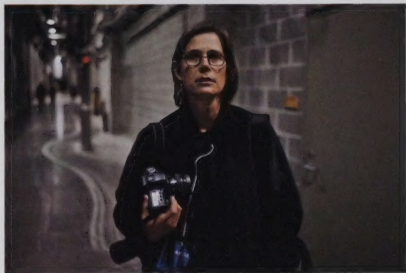
Marking History. At epochal moments, people rely on TIME to commemorate and cover them. Here's how to get our special issue and upcoming book

WHEN HISTORY IS BEING MADE, PEOPLE turn to TIME. We not only mark history; sometimes we are part of it. With the election of Barack Obama as the first African-American President of the United States, people across America and around the world scooped up copies of our commemorative election issue to observe the occasion. It has already become a collector's item. When I was walking home from the office a few nights after the election, I passed a newsstand in New York City that had just one copy of the issue left for sale—marked up to \$25. While I'm against such price gouging, it was a sign that the issue had already become a must-have piece of American political history.

To respond to the demand for the issue, we went back and printed hundreds of thousands of extra copies. And now we are making the issue available to anyone who hasn't been able to get hold of one. To order, just go online to time.com/obamaissue or call 1-866-550-6934. You'll be glad to know we're charging just our normal cover price.

At the same time, we are already experiencing strong demand for our new book about Obama—even before its publication. *President Obama: The Path to the White House*, superbly edited by Adi Ignatius and beautifully designed by Sharon Okamoto, combines original material on Obama's journey with a collection of the best reporting and writing from TIME's political team on his rise and historic victory. And it is overflowing with Callie Shell's incredible and intimate photographs of Obama, selected by photo editor Cray Pullen, many of which have never before been seen in print. "In clear and colorful storytelling," says Ignatius, "TIME's political team explains Obama's remarkable ascent and what it means for all of us."

The softcover version of this book is available now at newsstands across the country. And the hardcover version has



already cracked Barnes & Noble's top 50 best-sellers list, just in pre-orders. It will be available at bookstores everywhere in mid-December, or you can order copies now by going to time.com/obamabook.

Rich

Richard Stengel, MANAGING EDITOR

Capturing the moment Shell, above, spent two years on the road with Obama. Her photographs are featured inside, from top left, our election issue and our softcover and hardcover books

10 Questions.

The maverick ex-media mogul looks back in *Call Me Ted*, his new memoir. **Ted Turner will now take your questions**



Next Questions

Ask Magic Johnson your questions for an upcoming interview, at time.com/10questions

Do you think America will be able to maintain its position as a global economic leader with the current financial upheaval?

Brent Perry, SINGAPORE

Yes. There'll probably be an evening out of the wealth somewhat. But I still think that the United States has so much momentum going for it. If we do the right things, there's no reason we shouldn't still be the global leader economically. You know, we had a great run on borrowed money for 30 or 40 years, but you can only go so long living beyond your means. And that's what we've been doing.

What did you think of the \$700 billion bailout plan?

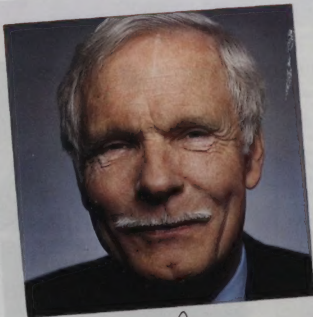
*Kimberly Willardson
CARRBORO, N.C.*

When I was running CNN we never had any money and I never asked for a bailout. Where does it end? AIG, you know, they need \$40 billion more and we only gave them a hundred billion last week, didn't we? It's just ridiculous. And now General Motors. They said we're going to give them \$25 billion to retool. Retool what? They'll run through that money so fast they'll be back wanting more. We can't keep every loser alive.

Would you agree that 24-hour breaking news has diminished the value of in-depth journalism?

*Kristina Popski
SOFIA, BULGARIA*

No. I think it has made people more interested in news in general. And breaking news doesn't give you depth or perspective. You need magazines and newspapers because regu-



lar television news doesn't do it either, usually. People, if they're interested in news, they'll get the headlines on television and then go to print for depth and perspective.

Does immense wealth truly bring peace of mind?

Henry Assen, BRUSSELS

When I did have it I gave over half of it away. I lost 85%. And I've lost 12% of what was left in the last couple of months. But I never worshipped money. I started middle class. I didn't finish college because I couldn't afford to. I didn't really have it for very long, because I made it real fast when CNN turned the corner, and that's when I gave so much away. Then right after that we did

the AOL merger and it went down the toilet.

If you were starting out today, what would be the new business you'd start?

Corey Tate, MINNEAPOLIS

Clean, renewable energy. In fact, I'm in it a little bit and I want to get in it more. I have a multimillion-dollar stake in First Solar, which is one of the publicly held solar companies.

Do you still think Christianity is a "religion for losers"?

Michael Flessas

KATRINEHOLM, SWEDEN

No. That was probably my most unfortunate comment. I apologized for it. I apologized for a lot of things that I've said. But I don't apologize nearly as much these days

because I don't say as much and I'm more careful about what I say. I didn't mean to hurt anybody's feelings with that, but it did hurt people's feelings and I'm sorry.

Could you describe the taste of bison?

Alex Robinson

STILLWELL, KANS.

All you have to do, my friend, is go to Ted's Montana Grill. To tell you the honest truth, I can't tell the difference between bison and good beef. But I know that the fat and the cholesterol in the bison is half as much, so it's much better for you. And it's better for my bison. Not the ones that are being eaten, but the other ones.

Do you have any regrets about your marriage to Jane Fonda?

*Nadir B.
FRANCE*

No. I would have liked for it to have lasted. But you can't always stay in the place where you'd like to be. We're good friends. We talk to each other almost every week.

Are you involved with another romance or marriage currently?

Kathy Papa, TAMPA, FLA.

I'm not married. I'm dating, and I'm having a pretty good time. I'm doing the best I can.

You have one word to describe yourself. What would it be?

Sylesh Volla, EAGAN, MINN.
Tenacious. ■



VIDEO AT TIME.COM

To watch a video interview with Ted Turner and to subscribe to the 10 Questions podcast on iTunes, go to time.com/10questions

Hope has a fighting chance

24

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Postcard: New York City. They've played Vegas, Tokyo and Chicago. Now the Blue Man Group faces a tougher crowd. The guys with blue heads have opened a grade school

BY BELINDA LUSCOMBE



Time.com Video
To watch a video from
the Blue School, visit
time.com/blueman

WHEN YOU'VE FOUND FAME AND fortune for having a blue head, it can be tricky to figure out your next career move. The obvious avenues—opening a chain of blue-food restaurants or being the second person of color to be elected President—present significant obstacles. And aside from Braveheart and some of Picasso's girlfriends, there just aren't that many blue role models.

So the founders of the Blue Man Group, the long-running theatrical hit that features three mute guys with earless, sticky blue heads, homemade instruments and a lot of crepe paper, chose a wholly original second act. They started a school. The Blue School, as it's known, opened its doors in September to 61 New York City kids kindergarten age or younger. It plans to offer first grade next year and grow all the way to fifth grade.

Exactly what kind of learning goes on at the Blue School? This is a show, after all, whose appeal rests on an exuberant celebration of paint volcanoes, Twinkie force-feeding, amplified Cap'n Crunch-chomping and Jell-O-encased heads. It's so universally silly that Blue Man Groups currently thrive in eight cities, from Las Vegas to Tokyo to Basel, Switzerland. But like many other enterprises that sound funny and turn out to be incredibly earnest (recent Jim Carrey movies spring to mind), the Blue School is a very serious business.

The original Blue Men—Matt Goldman, Phil Stanton, Chris Wink—came together as "sort of a support group for people whose creativity had been all but squeezed out of them by education," says Wink. "At one point, we asked, 'What if there was a school you didn't have to recover from, that didn't make you question the idea of being creative?'" After they had kids—with Blue Man Group revenues as their piggy bank and their wives as founding members of the school's board—they decided to find out.

Situated on Manhattan's ultra-hip



Not feeling at all blue Kids let the rumpus begin in the school's disco-like Wonder Room

Lower East Side, the school is not actually blue, although evidence of its genesis is everywhere. As in the show, there are long tubes that snake around the corridors, through which children can talk to one another. Pupils are encouraged to mess with shaving cream. There's a spectacular water table, with balls and hoses and a Medusa's head of tubes. Every school day includes half an hour of "glow time," in which the shades are pulled, the black lights go on, and heretofore inconspicuous paintings and sculptures come to life. And there's the Wonder Room.

The Wonder Room has a disco-like light-up floor, into which games are programmed, as well as a climbing wall and padding for the hurt-free throwing about of one's person. Children are allowed to choose which activities they want to pursue, and initially, says kindergarten teacher Nancy Simko, they all scramble for the Wonder Room. But with weekly visits from the yoga specialist, the therapeutic-ball specialist and the puppeteer, the kids are soon tempted away.

It may sound like a theme park, but the founders worked closely with education experts, including British creativity guru Sir Ken Robinson and UCLA's Daniel Siegel, to create the curriculum. Questions like **HOW DO 4-YEAR-OLDS UNDERSTAND THE COLOR RED?** are written on pieces of paper stuck to the classroom walls. Learning is to be provoked, not imposed. Teachers talk approvingly of "fun provocation going on in the 3s." Simko describes her job as leading students into a series of questions that will guide the curriculum. "It doesn't suit everybody," she says of the methodology, "but every school should have some elements of it." And it doesn't suit every budget. Kindergarten tuition is \$27,300; it's not the costliest of Manhattan's exorbitantly priced private elementary schools, but it's up there. Even so, applications have been pouring in.

As for the kids, they're, well, kids. One boy's idea of "provocation" is to ask what kind of fart everyone is. A girl goes the fake microphone. The founders are happy. "The test is the kids, and they're on fire," says Wink. And then, showing his affinity with little boys everywhere, he adds, "Not literally."



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JIM COLLINS, AUTHOR OF "GOOD TO GREAT" AND CO-AUTHOR
OF "BUILT TO LAST", as quoted in FORTUNE's 5.5.08 issue



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Inbox



Looking Back on Campaign '08

LAURA INGRAHAM'S CONTRIBUTION TO TIME's "Moments to Remember" from the 2008 campaign illustrates my own: the Republicans' utter lack of vision [Nov. 10]. The overwhelming majority of their campaign ads never carried the remotest hint of what the Republicans would do if elected. Instead, like Ingraham, they produced laundry lists of reasons not to vote for the opposition. GOP mouthpieces complain that their candidates don't get positive coverage in the mainstream media. Yet if you have no message, you probably won't get much coverage.

Dennis Sheehan, WAUPACA, WISC.

Stop Hidin' Biden

JOE BIDEN IS TOPS IN MY BOOK, AND I tire of seeing glib swipes at him because journalists think the public enjoys reading them [Nov. 10]. Biden has given tremendous service to this country and to the world. His life has been eventful—sometimes unfathomably painful—and he always gets up. He is a treasure.

Noralee Bauthues Stewart, FAIR OAKS, CALIF.

Out, Politically Active and Proud

TITLING YOUR ARTICLE ON WEALTHY GAY people and their political funding "A Gay Mafia" was a mistake [Nov. 10]. *Mafia* implies illegality. I am a gay Italian Democratic donor, and I was offended.

Linda Sartori, JUPITER, FLA.

FROM OUR ARCHIVES

In 1990 TIME took note of the new head of the Harvard Law Review—especially when he said he might run for office someday



Class Act

Running the Harvard Law Review often leads to a prestigious career. Last week, for the first time in its 103-year history, the Review welcomed a black president. Says Barack Obama, 28, who directed a community program for Chicago blacks before entering law school: "I feel like I've walked through a door a whole lot of other people worked hard to open." Eventually, says Obama, he may run for office.



IF TRYING TO MEET AND INFLUENCE POLITICIANS makes gay political donors a mafia, what do we call the endless parade of oil executives, Wall Street bankers and other rich, white, straight men and women who do the same? The struggle for civil rights may have progressed from the streets to the statehouse, but it is clear that TIME's coverage hasn't kept up.

Eric Peterson, ORONO, MAINE

America and Change

ON THE NIGHT BEFORE HIS DEATH, Martin Luther King Jr. mesmerized a Memphis, Tenn., congregation with an address in which he said, "I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land" [Nov. 17]. On election night we watched as Americans from Virginia, home of the capital of the Confederacy, to California voted for a President not on the basis of the color of his skin but on the content of his character. Now we know what King saw from the mountaintop. We have overcome.

Alan B. Posner, ROYAL OAK, MICH.

NOW THAT WE'VE BROUGHT "CHANGE" BY giving even more power to the party that forced bad loans and obstructed Fannie Mae reform while driving jobs overseas, it should not take long for Barack Obama to set the record straight on which party is actually pushing the "failed policies of the

SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT

■ In TIME's Best Inventions, we mixed up our AC/DC [Nov. 10]. The Tesla electric Roadster's battery converts direct current into alternating current—not the other way around. In the same issue, we misstated the price of the Aliph Jawbone Bluetooth headset in the Tech Buyer's Guide—it's \$130—and the name of an exit-polling group in our Brief History Of. It is the National Election Pool.

past." The only question is whether he will be able to continue blaming Republicans for the disastrous policies of Democrats.

Robert Moon, CINCINNATI, OHIO

I JUST TURNED 18. BEFORE THIS ELECTION, I did not follow politics at all and held some racist views. I volunteered briefly for Obama, knowing he offered the change our country needs. I now feel proud to have been part of this exciting milestone.

Lauren K. Cichon, ST. JOSEPH, MICH.

DURING JOHN MCCAIN'S GRACIOUS concession speech, he had to pause to quiet his supporters as they booed at the mention of Obama's name. If McCain had conducted his campaign with the grace and honor he showed in defeat instead of stirring up the worst instincts among his party's right-wing base, the outcome of the election might have been different.

Bernadette Pruitt, WICHITA FALLS, TEXAS

I NOW HAVE TWO HEROES: J.K. ROWLING, who made my children readers, and Obama, who made them voters.

Charles Hirschhorn, PACIFIC PALISADES, CALIF.

TO THE SUPPORTERS OF CALIFORNIA'S PROPOSITION 8, which bans same-sex marriage: 1963 called; it wants its bigotry back.

Julie Heinze, SAN CLEMENTE, CALIF.



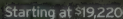
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A side profile view of a red Chevrolet Malibu sedan, showing its sleek design and alloy wheels. The car is positioned horizontally across the frame.



Briefing

□ THE WORLD □ VERBATIM □ HISTORY □ POP CHART

□ MILESTONES



The Moment

11/10/08: Wasilla

SOME PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS begin with a speech. Others start by taking the pulse of party leaders. Sarah Palin's 2012 bid kicked off over a steaming pot of moose chili under TV lights in her Alaska kitchen. The former vice-presidential candidate assured the world she was ready, should God open the door for her so much as a smidgen. "I'll plow through," she promised—as if anyone imagined otherwise.

The interval between one campaign and the next is not

usually measured in hours. But votes were still being counted as anonymous advisers to Senator John McCain, amid the smoking rubble of their Obama-bombed effort, began taking Palin down. She was a ditz, they whispered, who didn't know that Africa is a continent, a diva whose \$150,000 wardrobe—including silk boxer shorts for hubby Todd—belied her down-home reputation. Talk about airing a campaign's dirty laundry.

Palin hit back in her sig-

nature style. "Jerks," she said of her veiled foes. It was in keeping with the particular brand of brass that makes her, rawness aside, a plausible—perhaps formidable—future candidate. If any politician can survive the spectacle of winning

No pit bull in winter, Sarah Palin returns home ready for 2012—and beyond

through her family's suitcases to determine which duds are legally hers (the rest are being returned to the GOP; imagine the bewildered staffer opening that package), it's Sarah P.

By meeting the post-election smear campaign head-

on, she may have silenced it. On Nov. 11, McCain appeared on the *Tonight Show* to announce he "couldn't be happier" with his former running mate, despite polls showing she may have cost their ticket more votes than she earned.

A guttering torch is being passed in the GOP, and the battle is on to see who will seize it: Mitt Romney, 2008's also-ran? Minnesota governor Tim Pawlenty? Bobby Jindal of Louisiana, whom some look to as a Republican Obama? The party's spectacular collapse has spawned a wide-open struggle for the throne, and the long knives are already out. How's Palin with a knife? Ask the moose.

—BY DAVID VON DREHLE

The World

30 ESSENTIAL STORIES



Gay-marriage supporters hold a candlelight vigil to protest the passage of Proposition 8

1 | California

Protesting a Gay-Marriage Ban

While Barack Obama may have broken the color barrier by becoming the nation's first African-American President, the gay and lesbian community in California has erupted in protests following the approval of Proposition 8, which overturns a state supreme court decision upholding gay marriage. On Nov. 8, some 10,000 people, far more than authorities had expected, marched through Hillcrest, the hub of San Diego's gay community. Many opponents of the measure blamed religious groups for the its passage, particularly the Mormon church, which one source estimated had donated some \$15 million to promote Prop. 8; campaign records, however, showed far less. Meanwhile, in Connecticut, where a gay-marriage ban was lifted in October, same-sex couples began obtaining marriage licenses.

2 | Washington

Mortgage Modifications

Help is on the way for hundreds of thousands of Americans facing foreclosure. Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, which between them hold about 20% of delinquent U.S. mortgages, announced Nov. 11 that some customers will see their monthly payments adjusted to no more than 38% of their gross income. The companies, now under government control, plan to reduce interest rates and give borrowers more time to pay off their mortgages. Citigroup, JPMorgan Chase and Bank of America are modifying loans to slow or stop foreclosures.



A fireman rescues a student from the rubble of the fatal school collapse in Pétionville, Haiti

3 | Haiti

A School's Sorrow

Several students were injured after a school collapsed in Port-au-Prince on Nov. 12, less than a week after the devastating collapse of a different school building in nearby Pétionville, which killed more than 90 people. Haitian President René Préval has blamed poor construction methods and materials for the disasters, amid concerns that similar buildings may also be at risk.

4 | China

A Chinese New Deal?

With its GDP growth rate projected to slow from 12% in 2007 to less than 9% in 2009, China announced a \$586 billion stimulus to buoy the economy. While much of the spending is not new, the plan is meant to sustain the country's recent prosperity—and reinforce its political stability.



5 | Indonesia

Protests over Bali Bomber Executions

Three perpetrators of the 2002 nightclub bombings that killed 202 people on the resort island of Bali were executed Nov. 9, prompting demonstrations by Islamic radicals who gathered at their funerals to vow revenge and halt the dead—Imam Samudra, Amrozi bin Nurhasyim and Ali Ghufron—as martyrs. Southeast Asian terrorism experts expressed concern that the executions could inspire future attacks and criticized government officials for allowing sympathy for the bombers to grow as the case dragged on. Still, the threat posed by the group behind the attacks, Jemaah Islamiyah, is believed to have been blunted by a regional crackdown on terrorism.

Numbers:

44%

Spike in text messages sent via AT&T in the hour after Barack Obama's victory—the largest in the company's history

97%

Drop in Starbucks' net income after the coffee chain shuttered 600 stores and laid off 1,000 employees

6 | Florida

Pimp My Space Station

NASA announced that the International Space Station, 220 miles above Earth, is being expanded into a more comfortable, greener home for the six astronauts who will be living there by spring.



MORE SPOTS TO SNOOZE AND READ
The ISS's three bedrooms will grow to five, with a privacy booth for each crew member



NO MORE LINES IN THE MORNING
NASA is adding another toilet, bringing the grand total to two



FINALLY, WE CAN CHILL
A tiny fridge will allow astronauts to keep food cold



PUMPING IRON IN ZERO GRAVITY
Resistance-exercise equipment will be installed so the crew can stay in shape



WE'RE DRINKING WHAT?
Crew members' urine will be purified and recycled into drinkable water



7 | Congo

THE FIGHT CONTINUES As clashes continued to test a tenuous cease-fire and as an outbreak of cholera spread in refugee camps, southern-African leaders agreed to send military advisers to ease tensions between Congolese troops and rebel forces. The two sides have battled since August, driving some 250,000 civilians from their homes so far. Human-rights groups are urging the U.N. to increase its 17,000-strong peacekeeping force in the country.



8 | Iraq

Bridging the Security Gap

Iraqi officials have reopened Baghdad's Aimmah Bridge of the Imams, renewing hopes for improved security in the area and decreased tension between the Sunni and Shi'ite neighborhoods it connects across the Tigris River. The bridge had been closed since 2005, when rumors of a nearby suicide bomber sparked a stampede that killed nearly 1,000 people.

9 | Taipei

Chen Behind Bars

Taiwan's scandal-tainted former President Chen Shui-bian was formally detained by police after a court ruled that he could be held on suspicion of corruption. Chen, whose eight-year tenure ended in May, has denied wrongdoing, calling the allegations "political persecution."

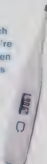
10 | Washington

A Secret Service

The Bush Administration has authorized nearly a dozen covert military operations against al-Qaeda since 2004, attacking operatives from the terrorist group in nations including Syria and Yemen, according to a report published in the *New York Times*. Several raids resulted in the deaths of civilians. Though the Pentagon did not confirm the specifics of the report, it acknowledged the U.S. military's intention to capture or kill terrorists wherever they operate.

★ | What They're Tracking at Google:

Engineers at the California-based search giant are at it again, and this time they're after your germs. By tracking where, when and how many people are Googling terms like congestion, muscle ache and thermometer, a new service at google.org/flu trends hopes to better detect regional outbreaks of influenza. The service has even outsmarted the CDC by exposing hot spots 10 days before the agency did.



49%

Increase in background checks for U.S. gun purchases in the first week of November—a rise attributed to fears that Obama will try to limit the right to bear arms

25,000

Number of photos taken by the Phoenix Mars Lander. NASA officials declared the spacecraft dead after it went silent Nov. 2

Verbatim

'Bawdy jokes are O.K. if they're really good.'

ANTONIN SCALIA, Supreme Court Justice, during a hearing on the use of "fleeing expletives" on radio and TV

'Even if Obama had not won, I would still have done the same.'

PAMELA ADHIAMBO, a Kenyan woman who named her newborn twins Barack and Michelle. More than half the babies born at Kenya's Kisumu Hospital on Nov. 5 were named after the President-elect or his wife

'A lot of public defenders are starting to stand up and say, "No more."'

DAVID CARROLL, of the National Legal Aid and Defender Association, on growing concerns that state budget cuts and heavy workloads are undermining the constitutional right to free counsel

'I regret saying some things I shouldn't have said, like "Dead or alive" or "Bring 'em on."'

GEORGE W. BUSH, when asked on CNN about the highs and lows of his time as President

'You walk the mall, and consumers look like zombies. They're there in person, but not in spirit.'

JOHN MORRIS, a Wachovia retailing analyst, on the nation's rising unemployment rate and the disappointing sales figures reported in October by dozens of major stores

'Basically, we're the bullet sponge.'

FIRST LIEUT. DANIEL WRIGHT, executive officer of a U.S. Army unit whose function is to draw insurgents away from more populated areas in Afghanistan

'I'm trying to find my way back.'

MARK FOLEY, former Congressman, who resigned in September 2006 amid reports that he had sent sexual messages to male teens working as Capitol Hill pages



Back & Forth:

Veterans

'It is not our day to gripe about the cost.'

ELIZABETH HASSELBECK, co-host of ABC's *The View*, criticizing colleague Joy Behar for commemorating Veterans Day by listing stats about the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq

'We are honoring them by discussing this war.'

JOY BEHAR, saying few newspaper headlines noted the Nov. 11 holiday or the number of soldiers who have died since 2003



Diplomacy

'He's young, handsome and even has a good tan.'

Italian Prime Minister **SILVIO BERLUSCONI**, joking about Barack Obama becoming the first African-American President. He later added, "If some people don't have a sense of humor, then it's their problem."



'Often I find that I am pleased to have become French.'

CARLA BRUNI-SARKOZY, Italian-born wife of French President Nicolas Sarkozy, reacting to Berlusconi's remark


LEXICON

philanthrocapitalism *n.*—Also known as *venture philanthropy*. A business-like approach to charity

USAGE: "Leading philanthrocapitalists are giving away unprecedented amounts of money—Bill Gates and Warren Buffett are together handing out about \$3.5 billion a year through the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation."

—NEW YORK TIMES, NOV. 11, 2008





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A Brief History Of:

The Oval Office

INSIDE THE OFFICE

- Flags** The U.S. and presidential flags hang for all Presidents
- Table** Personal items; Clinton had a toy model of his campaign bus
- Desk** Traditionally, the 1880 Resolute desk
- Rug** Each President's is unique; Bush's, below, looks like a sun
- Flooring** Originally made of cork, later linoleum, now wood



IT'S POSSIBLY THE MOST RECOGNIZABLE WORKSPACE IN THE world, but the office that President-elect Barack Obama, its next occupant, visited on Nov. 10 hasn't always been the enduring symbol of the U.S. presidency. Before the 1930s, the Oval Office was in a different part of the White House. And before that, it wasn't even oval.

In 1902, Theodore Roosevelt built a rectangular room on the ground floor of the new West Wing, replacing offices on the second floor of the White House. William Howard Taft made it into an oval in honor of a symbolic feature of George Washington's Philadelphia residence: a room with a bowed end where the first President would stand surrounded by a circle of guests, allowing him to democratically greet each visitor from the same distance. The office was moved to its current location in the southeast corner of the White House in 1934.

Presidents since have left their mark on the office (except Jimmy Carter, who kept Gerald Ford's décor). L.B.J. installed a bank of televisions. On the Resolute desk, used by 21 of the past 24 Presidents, Harry Truman placed his THE BUCK STOPS HERE sign (the reverse read I'M FROM MISSOURI). And while its darker hours saw Richard Nixon's secret taping sessions and, in adjoining rooms, Bill Clinton's trysts with Monica Lewinsky, the Oval Office is where the President comes to draw the nation together—as Ronald Reagan did after the *Challenger* disaster, or George W. Bush after 9/11. —BY FRANCES ROMERO

A ROOM WITH A VIEW

1880 The Resolute desk is given to Rutherford B. Hayes by Queen Victoria of England as a thank-you for the safe return of the H.M.S. *Resolute*, which provided the wood for the desk

1902 Theodore Roosevelt builds the West Wing, fitting it with a rectangular office that predates the Oval Office



1929 Herbert Hoover's Oval Office is destroyed by a fire on Christmas Eve. The blaze started in another room

1934 Franklin D. Roosevelt moves the Oval Office to the southeast corner of the White House and installs the famous trapdoor in the Resolute desk



THE SKIMMER



Big Boy Rules

By Steve Fainaru
Da Capo; 254 pages

THEY ARE "THE UNWANTED, doing the unforgivable, for the ungrateful," according to a tattoo adorning an American private security contractor—one of the tens of thousands of mercenaries who work alongside the understaffed U.S. military in the shadows of the Iraq war. Fainaru, a Washington *Post* reporter and 2008 Pulitzer Prize winner, was embedded with the mercs of Crescent Security Group—a ragged outfit that "commutes to war" in armored pickup trucks from their Kuwait City villa, braving ambushes and enemy fire to help ferry convoys and cargo along Iraq's perilous highways. Some—like Jonathon Côté, a former paratrooper who plays practical jokes on his comrades and doles out toys to local kids—earn their paychecks and adrenaline rushes with honor. Others are renegade cowboys with AK-47s, issuing pronouncements like "I want to kill somebody today" the way one might propose dinner plans. Punctuated by a kidnapping with awful consequences, Fainaru's harrowing exposé illuminates a \$100 billion industry "where death, in many respects, is the cost of doing business."

—BY ALEX ALTMAN

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Pop Chart



Turkish town of Batman sues makers of *The Dark Knight*. Nation plans to sue Butterball



Billy Ray Cyrus lobbies for Obama girls to appear on *Hannah Montana*



A 22-year-old Dane is youngest-ever World Series of Poker champ. Somethin's blingin' in the state of Denmark

Obama *Yes We Can* album, the sound track of liberal earnestness



NICOLE KIDMAN to portray world's first post-op transsexual



BEYONCÉ wants to play Wonder Woman. Jay-Z to shell out for invisible jet



Puppycam!



Japanese to remake *Sideways*. Nice to see them steal one of our films for a change

SHOCKING

With no one left in Washington to attack, **KEITH OLBERMANN** signs four-year, \$30 million contract



WILL SMITH'S 10-year-old son **JADEN** to star in *Karate Kid* remake



Conan the Barbarian remake. Please, please cast **VLADIMIR PUTIN**



COLDPLAY crowned year's biggest worldwide act. You're such a wuss, World



JACK BLACK to star as Gulliver

PREDICTABLE



Impresario's departure scuttles *Brokeback Mountain* opera. Guess he did know how to quit you



ANTONIO BANDERAS in talks to play Salvador Dali

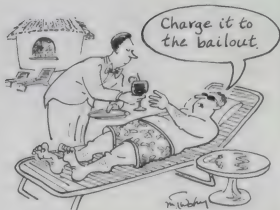
LINDSAY LOHAN says she's bisexual, not lesbian. News to **SAMANTHA RONSON**



SHOCKINGLY PREDICTABLE

Drawing Room

EDITED BY MATTHEW DIFEE



POSSIBLE TITLES FOR BUSH'S MEMOIR

1. Standing Tall and Talking Good
2. Chicken Soup for the Unilateral Soul
3. The George W. Bush Autobiography (by Karl Rove)
4. Two Terms of Endearment
5. My Years as Governor

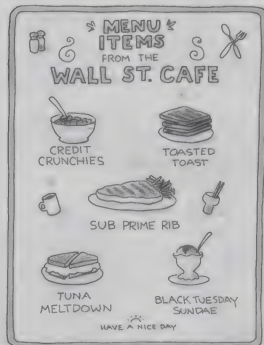


"I thought after he got elected, everything would be different, but I still don't have a girlfriend."

Alfaro



ANYTHING WILL BE BETTER THAN EIGHT MORE YEARS OF SCOTTISH TERRIER



WE HAVE A COUPLE MONTHS LEFT—MAYBE WE COULD SQUEEZE IN A NUCLEAR ACCIDENT OR SOMETHING




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Milestones



Michael Crichton

AN OUTSIZE FIGURE IN ALMOST every possible way—he stood 6 ft. 9 in.—Michael Crichton died of cancer Nov. 4 in Los Angeles at the age of 66. It would require several obituaries to do justice to his polymathic professional accomplishments. Crichton trained as a doctor at Harvard Medical School, directed sev-

eral feature films and created *ER*, one of the most successful TV dramas of all time.

But it's as a novelist that Crichton was best known. A pioneer of the techno-thriller, he wrote two dozen of them—including *The Andromeda Strain*, *Congo* and *Rising Sun*—which

collectively sold more than 150 million copies. Crichton was never a literary stylist, but his skills as a storyteller were enormous. His plots have a crystalline perfection that has been much copied, and they combined a true nerd's fascination with science and technology with a salutary skepticism. Time and again his novels feature greedy, overeager researchers who open one Pandora's box after another, always with fatal consequences.

Crichton's most successful book was *Jurassic Park*, his novel about dinosaurs cloned from their fossilized DNA. Even aside from its power as a thriller, its prescience gets more astonishing year after year. The week of Crichton's death, Japanese scientists announced that they had successfully cloned mice from tissue that had been frozen for 16 years. Crichton probably wouldn't have approved, but it's a shame that he missed it.

—BY LEV GROSSMAN



Miriam Makeba

"SHE WAS AT THE UNITED Nations ages ago, before it was even fashionable," said the South African singer Yvonne Chaka Chaka of Miriam Makeba, who died Nov. 10 at 76. The first African woman

to win a Grammy, Makeba, known affectionately as "Mama Africa," traveled to New York City in 1963. She appeared before the U.N.'s special committee on apartheid to plead for intervention in South Africa. Her nation repaid Makeba by exiling her until 1990, when President Nelson Mandela personally asked her to return.

Though much of Makeba's influence resulted from her political involvement and her topical lyrics, she shied away from the term *political singer*. Makeba said in an interview, "I was singing about my life, and in South Africa we always

sang about what was happening to us—especially the things that hurt us."

While she cared deeply about South Africa and about her role in its struggle for equality, she was also a fundamentally blithe spirit who would cook grand feasts for her friends and sing lyrics like "Pata Pata is the name of a dance we do down Johannesburg way."

Makeba—who often said she would perform until the last day of her life—spent her final moments onstage near Naples, Italy, singing those very words: "Pata Pata is the name of a dance we do..."

—BY FRANCES ROMERO



DIED Jheryl Busby, 59, wisely said in 1989, "Motown can't be what it was in the 1960s." As president and CEO of Motown, Busby shepherded the careers of acts such as Boyz II Men and Queen Latifah and revitalized the flagging record label.

■ **G. Larry James, 61**, was known as "the Mighty Burner" for his gold-medal win in the 4 x 400-m relay at the racially charged 1968 Olympics in Mexico City, where he demonstrated for civil rights.

■ **John Leonard, 69**, the former editor of the *New York Times Book Review*, was "the smartest man who ever lived," according to Kurt Vonnegut. A prolific literary critic, Leonard often praised authors like Toni Morrison before they hit it big.

■ **Rosella Hightower, 88**, a former ballerina, founded one of the world's most famous ballet schools and one of the art form's most notable prizes.

OUSTED After three terms as Prime Minister of New Zealand, Labour Party leader **Helen Clark, 58**, lost the nation's Nov. 8 elections to National Party leader John Key. Majority power in parliament shifted to Key's party, resulting in Clark's resignation from her post as Labour Party head three days later. Saddened colleagues praised Clark's years in office, during which she boosted New Zealand's economy by cutting debt and building huge surpluses.



EXPULSED What's in a name? Ask **Omar Osama bin Laden, 27**, and he would have quite a story to tell. On Nov. 9, after several appeals, Omar—one of Osama bin Laden's 19 children—was denied asylum in Spain despite his claim that repeated death threats have put his life in grave danger.



Joel

Stein

Name My Baby. To save his unborn son from his own tragically bad taste, Joel asks America to pick a name

I EXPECTED TO BE FLOODED WITH MANY complicated emotions when I found out I was going to become a father, but instead, all I felt was this: naming this child is the most important writing assignment of my life. He will be like a column that not only sticks around forever but can also complain about itself.

Most people don't share the names they're thinking of with friends, family and readers of weekly newsmagazines because they don't want to be talked out of their choice or have it name-napped. Those people are stupid. Having written many things that people hate, I decided to thoroughly focus-group my work—especially since my wife Cassandra rejected all my first suggestions: Whiskey, Danger, Genghis and Ribo. She also rejected all my names that were Spanish (Pablo, Alejandro), Asian (Hideki, Attila) or Hockey (Teemu, Jaromir, Sigmund), arguing that they "didn't go with *Stein*," much like how everything I want to buy "doesn't go with the house."

Luckily, there are many websites that help fuel more of these fights. We started at Babble.com, where a collaborative-filtering function called Nymbler asked for a few favorite names and then spit out others enjoyed by people with the same preferences. This gave me results approved by my demographic, which we learned by the site's suggestions of Axel, Jett, Laszlo and Zed is that of pretentious, self-important yuppie hipsters.

As a pretentious, self-important yuppie hipster, I thought it was a great idea to pay a baby-name consultant, an

occupation created just a year ago. For \$35, I got 12 name suggestions from Jennifer Moss at BabyNames.com that included four names we were already considering: Elijah, Jude, Dashiell and Edison, which is particularly weird because we totally made up the name Edison, since it's the town I'm from in New Jersey. My main concern with these is that they'll all get my son beaten up.



But Moss said, "When we've done our surveys, people say, 'I was teased about being Anna.' Kids will tease about anything if they don't like you. Don't worry about it. Unless it rhymes with a body part." Which, sadly, ruled out my favorite choice: Smesticles Stein.

The best advice I got was from Eric Reyes and Whitney Walker, co-authors of *The Perfect Baby Name* and, for \$75, name consultants. They ignore subjective reasoning like name meanings and associations and focus solely on sounds. Walker told me that the strong s or t in my last name would sound nice repeated in the first name, as would the long-i sound. Whatever I choose, she suggested that I Google the name before settling on it. "Just to make sure it's not a porn star or something," she said.

Better yet, I went on Facebook

and sent messages to an Ezra Stein, a Levi Stein, two Solomon Steins and a Sigmund Stern. (That's as close as I could get.) It turns out, to my relief, that every human being likes his own name. But Solomon scared me about the nickname Sol, whereas Sigmund—who, of course, writes for the *Onion*—won me over with Sig and Ziggy. I also sent messages to guys with really unusual first names that we were considering, though I knew all I needed to about those names when I discovered I had mutual friends with all three Zeds and all five Jettis on Facebook. Say what you want about pretentious, self-important yuppie hipsters: they do Facebook-message you back very quickly.

Feeling confident, I sent a mass e-mail to family and friends instructing them to vote yes or no on each one without any comment, a request they all ignored. All of them also thought it was clever to suggest their own first names. Also, I learned that when my mom receives an e-mail that upsets her, she immediately calls. "The only name I like is Jeff if you spell it with two f's instead of t's," she said. "You cannot do this to my grandson. I'm just trying to protect this poor unborn baby. I have no other reason." Having kids is already proving to be just as fulfilling a method of getting back at my parents as I had hoped.

The winner of our focus group was Oliver, the fake choice we put on the list to see if people would just pick a super-popular name. Griffin came in second, followed by Ezra and then Isaac and Levi. Judah and Edison were right behind, with Zed coming in a shocking ninth out of 20, thus proving I need new friends, because ours are either idiots or trying to sabotage me.

But Cassandra is stuck on the low-rated Laszlo Stein, who was a beloved ear doctor who I fear might be hard to out-Google. So if you want to prevent Laszlo Stein—or even will his very existence into being—I urge you to go to time.com/joel to vote on my baby name. Remember, only you can prevent Gunther Stein.

Cassandra rejected all my names that were Spanish (Pablo, Alejandro), Asian (Hideki, Attila) or Hockey (Teemu, Jaromir), arguing they didn't go with Stein



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Joe

Klein

Seeing Green. Obama says his top priority will be creating a new energy economy. Here's how he could do it

EXCEPT FOR THE SOFT HYDRAULIC WHIR of expectations being raised, the first week of the Obama transition was a quiet one. Indeed, the big news came from neither Chicago nor Washington but from Detroit and Beijing. In Detroit, General Motors—the stupendously clueless automaker—begged for a bailout lest it go bankrupt, thereby raising the question: If our resources are limited, why should we invest in the failed corporate past rather than in the technologies of the future? The obvious answer was to protect jobs. But how long would those jobs last without a significant overhaul of the company's management and priorities? Was it even possible that the Federal Government could demand or supervise such a radical makeover?

There was even bigger news from China, where the government announced a \$586 billion stimulus package in an attempt to soften the blow of the coming recession. The China package was big and bold—and a tacit challenge to the Obama Administration. It represented 18% of the Chinese gross domestic product, the equivalent of a \$2.4 trillion program in the U.S. Of course, China has bigger problems to solve than we do. Its social safety net is made of tissue; vast sums will be needed to establish a proper health-care and pension system. But much of the \$586 billion will also be spent on investments to jump-start China's next economic expansion—investments in transportation, education, communications and energy.

And that's where the challenge is: if we don't want to be left behind, we will

If our resources are limited, why should we invest in the failed corporate past rather than in the technologies of the future?

have to do something similar. Barack Obama has said building an alternative energy economy will be his top priority. The question is, How bold is he willing to be about that? Actually, there are a lot of questions: How much of the stimulus plan he proposes in January will be devoted to immediate middle-class tax relief, and how much to investing in the future? What would a plausible alternative-energy plan look like?



For answers, I decided to check in with the Center for American Progress (CAP)—the think tank run by Obama's transition chief, John Podesta—which has drafted a green-energy stimulus plan of its own. "We identified \$50 billion in programs that are ready to go immediately," says Bracken Hendricks of CAP. "The package would create 2 million jobs across the skill spectrum, from blue collar to high tech, and in almost every area of the country. There was huge congressional appetite for this even before the economic crisis hit."

The package—which could easily be doubled to \$100 billion—would have five components:

- **A green bailout for the automakers,** with a quid pro quo: they would have to increase fuel-efficiency standards in their cars at least 4% per year and make major investments in new battery technology for plug-in hybrids.

- **A green-infrastructure fund** to make existing public buildings more energy-efficient and provide homeowners with tax breaks to do the same. "This could help revive the construction industry," Hendricks says.

- **Tax credits** for companies that produce wind and solar energy and energy conservation products like fiberglass insulation. According to Hendricks, there are companies ready to build wind farms in the Midwest and solar farms in the Southwest if they can be guaranteed that there will be a market for their products even if oil prices drop.

- **Construction of a new "smart" electric grid** to deliver the power generated by wind, solar and geothermal plants in rural areas to the major population centers. This would be a down payment on the \$400 billion over 10 years that Al Gore has estimated the new grid will ultimately cost—although, Gore says, the savings in energy efficiency could pay for the grid in three years. The new smart technology would figure out the cheapest and most efficient times to run everything from major heating and cooling systems in public buildings to your clothes dryer.

- **Increased investment in mass transit.** Hendricks says there are \$20 billion to \$30 billion in local-rail and alternative-energy-bus projects that have already been approved by Congress but not yet funded by the Federal Government.

It is difficult to make public poetry out of wires and fiberglass insulation. "We will send a man to the moon" is a far more romantic proposition than "We will have a gadget in your basement that will help you use electricity more efficiently." But if there is creativity lurking amid the destruction of the economic crisis, it exists at the intersection of national security, economic stimulus and climate change—the gust of innovation and economic growth that will come from breaking our dependence on fossil fuels. Along with finding the right people to staff his Administration, Barack Obama's most important job now is to find the right words to inspire the nation to undertake this next great cause.

NATION

Change. What It Looks Like



Photograph for TIME by Brooks Kraft—Corbis

With the election won, the Obama team faces the realities of governing. What the transition reveals about the kind of President Obama will be

BY KAREN TUMULTY

IT IS ONE OF THE IRONIES OF POLITICS and history that when the candidate of change was pondering what he would do if he actually got elected President, he turned to the man who eight years before handed over the White House keys to George W. Bush. Former Clinton White House chief of staff John Podesta had met Barack Obama only a few times before the Democratic nominee summoned him to Chicago in August to ask him to begin planning a transition. Podesta supported Hillary Clinton in the Democratic primaries and had little in common with Obama beyond the fact that they are both skinny guys from Chicago. Yet it is hard to think of a Democrat in Washington who can match Podesta's organizational abilities or his knowledge of the inner workings of government. And Obama was already giving plenty of thought to the crucial 76 days between the election and the Inauguration. "He understood that in order to be successful, he had to be ready," says Podesta, who is now a co-chairman of the transition team. "And he had to be ready fast."

Even in the calmest of times, the transfer of presidential power is a tricky maneuver, especially when it involves one party ceding the office to another. But not since Franklin D. Roosevelt took office in the midst of the Depression has a new President faced a set of challenges quite as formidable as those that await Obama. That's why Obama has been quicker off the blocks in setting up his government than any of his recent predecessors were, particularly Bill Clinton, who did not announce a single major appointment until mid-December. As the President-elect put it in his first radio address, "We don't have a moment to lose."

Not only did Obama name a White House chief of staff two days after the election, but he also began to fill 120,000 sq. ft. (11,000 sq m) of office space in downtown Washington with a transition operation that is ultimately expected to have a staff of 450 and a budget of \$12 million, more

Handoff In his first White House visit as President-elect, Obama walks with Bush down the famed colonnade outside the Oval Office



than half of which must be raised from private funds. Obama's goal, says his old friend Valerie Jarrett, another co-chair of the transition operation, "is to be able to be organized, efficient, disciplined and transparent to the American people." More disciplined than transparent: Washington's quadrennial parlor game is in full swing, with scores of names being circulated as contenders for top jobs in the Obama Administration. But the number of people who actually know anything is small, and they are not prone to leaking.

The transition provides an early glimpse of how the Obama team will conduct itself in power—and a test of how much change it really will bring to Washington. As the cascade of crises grows—the collapse of General Motors being the latest—the President-elect won't have time to settle in before making big decisions. In a real sense, the moves Obama makes in the next six weeks may help define what kind of President he will be. The appointments he makes, the way he engineers his government, how fast he gets everything in place—each of those things will determine whether he stumbles or bursts out of the starting gate and whether he sets forth a clear or an incoherent agenda for governing.

Planning Ahead

BY ALL INDICATIONS, THIS IS SHAPING UP to be one of the most amicable transfers of power between the parties in recent years—thanks in no small part to the extraordinary efforts of the current occupant of the Oval Office. Planning for the handoff was under way well before the Obamas paid a visit to the Bushes at the White House on Nov. 10 for a tour of the place that they, their daughters and the new President's mother-in-law will soon be calling home. Since September, Podesta has been quietly working with current White House chief of staff Josh Bolten and Bolten's deputy, Blake Gottesman, to make sure the transition is as smooth as possible. Bolten and Gottesman have been offering advice on which posts need to be filled quickest and making their personnel available to Obama advisers. More than 100 interim security clearances have already been granted to Obama aides. "If a crisis hits on Jan. 21, they're the ones who are going to have to deal with it," Bolten said in an interview with *C-SPAN*. "We need to make sure that they're as well prepared as possible."

The most labor-intensive phase is about to begin, as teams of Obama aides descend on more than 100 federal departments and agencies to begin poring over their operations. Meanwhile, the new Administration is looking for more than 300 Cabinet secretaries, deputies and assistant



A Look at Team Obama

The President-elect has entrusted his transition to a group that includes both longtime loyalists and newer allies



Rahm Emanuel

The Chicago Congressman and former top Clinton aide will be Obama's White House chief of staff. He is known for his dealmaking skills and sharp elbows



Peter Rouse

Obama's trusted Senate chief of staff and transition co-chair is expected to play a big role in his Administration. Obama calls him "completely ego-free"



Setting the stage In Chicago three days after the election, Obama arrives for his first news conference as President-elect

secretaries, plus upwards of 2,500 political appointees who do not require Senate confirmation. Not that there will be any lack of candidates: in the first five days after Obama's team set up its Change.gov website, 144,000 applications poured in.

Obama seems determined to avoid the mistakes of Bill Clinton's chaotic transition in 1992, which helped set the stage for what turned out to be a rocky first year in office. Whereas Clinton put most of his early efforts into picking a diverse Cabinet that he said would look like America—and required three attempts to come up with a female Attorney General—Obama will initially focus on building his White House operation, much as Ronald Reagan did in 1980. Cabinet appointments are likely to begin coming by the end of the month, which is still early by recent historical standards. But Podesta says Obama intends to make the White House the locus of policy formulation and decision-making.

The strongest signal of how that White House will operate has been Obama's pick of Illinois Congressman Rahm Emanuel to be its chief of staff. Emanuel is a win-at-any-cost partisan but not an ideologue; in his earlier White House stint as a top aide to Clinton, he was a key figure in shepherding through the North American Free Trade Agreement, a crime bill and welfare reform—none of them popular with the Democratic Party's liberal base. The appointment of someone who has been a savvy operator at both ends of Pennsylvania Avenue also shows that, for all Obama's talk of change, he does not intend to make the mistake of earlier Presidents who ran as outsiders and brought in top advisers who did not understand the folkways of Washington.

But there are those who worry that Emanuel's hard-edged style—he's famously profane and once sent an enemy a dead fish—will stifle dissent and debate in a White House that, Jarrett says, Obama wants to function using a "team-of-rivals approach, with differences of opinion." Comparing Emanuel with Richard Nixon's ruthless chief of staff, New York University government expert Paul Light predicts, "He's going to make Bob Haldeman look like a cupcake."

The Agenda Dilemma

BEYOND PERSONNEL, THE TRANSITION PERIOD is likely to yield insights into Obama's executive abilities and his agenda. Obama, following a model set by F.D.R. during his transition, has signaled that he does not intend to get deeply involved in the wran-

gling between Bush and Congress over an economic stimulus package. Nor does he intend to return to Washington from Chicago to vote on one if it should come to the Senate chamber, where he technically still serves.

But given the urgency of the challenges—guarding against another terrorist attack and dealing with an economic crisis—Obama knows he doesn't have time on his side. His top priority will be stabilizing the financial system, he said in an interview with CNN shortly before the election, followed by investing in renewable energy, universal health care, middle-class tax cuts and education reform. Then there are the other things he talked about at various points in the campaign: closing Guantanamo, withdrawing from Iraq, renegotiating trade deals, reforming immigration. How quickly those now secondary goals will follow is a major question and source of debate among Obama's advisers. Publicly, they insist that he can do it all, and there is plenty of talk about putting these issues on parallel tracks. But it is hard to see how he can afford such expensive undertakings alongside a \$700 billion federal bailout of the financial system (which Obama now wants to extend to the collapsing auto industry) and a new economic stimulus package.

One relatively easy way that he can put early points on the change board once in office is by issuing a series of Executive Orders—for instance, reversing Bush policies on stem-cell research, offshore drilling and the prohibition against using foreign-aid money for abortion counseling. Congress, with its stronger Democratic majorities in both houses, is likely to quickly pass legislation that previously died under a Bush veto, beginning with expanded funding for the children's health insurance program that is administered by the states. And lawmakers may also begin passing parts of Obama's economic and energy plans piecemeal.

The question is whether that will build Obama's momentum for bigger change or merely squander his honeymoon. Here too, Clinton's history is telling. In his first year, he put so much energy and capital into his deficit reduction package and NAFTA that, in the view of some who served with him, he had little left for health care in his second.

The greatest challenge of all for President Obama will be the one set for him by candidate Obama. A Diageo/Hotline poll conducted after his election showed that two thirds of those surveyed are now confident that "real change" is coming to Washington. How long are they willing to wait for it? Hope can fuel a campaign, but Presidents are measured by results.

—WITH REPORTING BY JAY NEWTON SMALL/
WASHINGTON



Valerie Jarrett

The Chicago businesswoman, a transition co-chair, is a longtime friend of and adviser to Barack and Michelle Obama. Not yet clear: her role in the new Administration



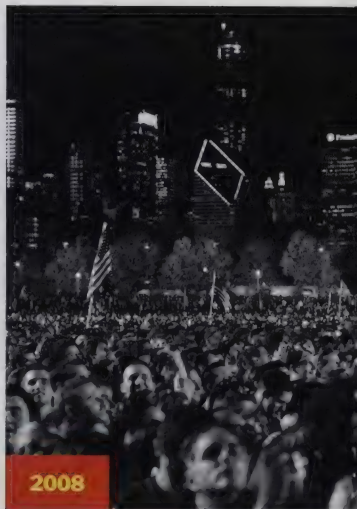
John Podesta

Another veteran of the Clinton Administration, he brings his deep knowledge and experience in Washington to the job of organizing the Obama transition effort



Robert Gibbs

Obama's spokesman since his 2004 Senate campaign will move into the role of White House press secretary. His affable Southern manner belies a fiercely protective instinct



The New Liberal Order

The Obama presidency is just the beginning. Why shifting attitudes about government could make Democrats the ruling party for a generation

BY PETER BEINART

THE DEATH AND REBIRTH OF AMERICAN liberalism both began with flags in Grant Park. On Aug. 28, 1968, 10,000 people gathered there to protest the Democratic Convention taking place a few blocks away, which was about to nominate Lyndon Johnson's Vice President, Hubert

Humphrey, thus implicitly ratifying the hated Vietnam War. Chicago mayor Richard Daley had warned the protesters not to disrupt his city and denied them permits to assemble, but they came anyway. All afternoon, the protesters chanted and the police hovered, until about 3:30, when

someone climbed a flagpole and began lowering the American flag.

Police went to arrest the offender and were pelted with eggs, chunks of concrete and balloons filled with paint and urine. The police responded by charging into the crowd, clubbing bystanders and yelling "Kill! Kill!" in what one report later termed a "police riot." Across the country, Americans watching on television gave their verdict: Serves the damn hippies right. Democrats, who had won seven of the previous nine presidential elections, went on to lose seven of the next 10.

Forty years later, happy liberals mobbed Grant Park, invited by another mayor named Richard Daley, to celebrate Barack Obama's election. This time the flags flew proudly at full mast, and the police were there to protect the crowd, not threaten it. Once again, Americans watched on television, and this time they didn't seethe. They wept.

The distance between those two Grant Park scenes says a lot about how American liberalism fell, and why in the Obama era it could become—once again—America's



Then and now The scenes in Chicago's Grant Park during the tumult of '68, left, and the exuberance of election night 2008

ruling creed. The coalition that carried Obama to victory is every bit as sturdy as America's last two dominant political coalitions: the ones that elected Franklin Roosevelt and Ronald Reagan. And the Obama majority is sturdy for one overriding reason: liberalism, which average Americans once associated with upheaval, now promises stability instead.

The Search for Order

IN AMERICA, POLITICAL MAJORITIES LIVE or die at the intersection of two public yearnings: for freedom and for order. A century ago, in the Progressive Era, modern American liberalism was born, in historian Robert Wiebe's words, as a "search for order." America's giant industrial monopolies, the progressives believed, were turning capitalism into a jungle, a wild and lawless place where only the strongest and savage survived. By the

time Roosevelt took office during the Great Depression, the entire ecosystem appeared to be in a death spiral, with Americans crying out for government to take control. F.D.R. did—juicing the economy with unprecedented amounts of government cash, creating new protections for the unemployed and the elderly, and imposing rules for how industry was to behave. Conservatives wailed that economic freedom was under assault, but most ordinary Americans thanked God that Washington was securing their bank deposits, helping labor unions boost their wages, giving them a pension when they retired and pumping money into the economy to make sure it never fell into depression again. They didn't feel unfree; they felt secure. For three and a half decades, from the mid-1930s through the '60s, government imposed order on the market. The jungle of American capitalism became a well-tended garden, a safe and pleasant place for ordinary folks to stroll. Americans responded by voting for F.D.R.-style liberalism—which even most Republican politicians came to accept—in election after election.

By the beginning of the 1960s, though, liberalism was becoming a victim of its own success. The post-World War II economic boom flooded America's colleges with the children of a rising middle class, and it was those children, who had never experienced life on an economic knife-edge, who began to question the status quo, the tidy, orderly society F.D.R. had built. For blacks in the South, they noted, order meant racial apartheid. For many women, it meant confinement to the home. For everyone, it meant stifling conformity, a society suffocated by rules about how people should dress, pray, imbibe and love. In 1962, Students for a Democratic Society spoke for what would become a new, baby-boom generation "bred in at least modest comfort," which wanted less order and more freedom. And it was this movement for racial, sexual and cultural liberation that bled into the movement against Vietnam and assembled in August 1968 in Grant Park.

Traditional liberalism died there because Americans—who had once associated it with order—came to associate it with disorder instead. For a vast swath of the white working class, racial freedom came to mean riots and crime; sexual freedom came to mean divorce; and cultural freedom came to mean disrespect for family, church and flag. Richard Nixon and later Reagan won the presidency by promising a new order: not economic but cultural, not the taming of the market but the taming of the street.

The Receding Right

FLASH FORWARD TO THE EVENING OF Nov. 4, and you can see why liberalism has sprung back to life. Ideologically, the crowds who assembled to hear Obama on election night were linear descendants of those egg throwers four decades before. They too believe in racial equality, gay rights, feminism, civil liberties and people's right to follow their own star. But 40 years later, those ideas no longer seem disorderly. Crime is down and riots nonexistent; feminism is so mainstream that even Sarah Palin embraces the term; Chicago mayor Richard Daley, son of the man who told police to bash heads, marches in gay-rights parades. Culturally, liberalism isn't that scary anymore. Younger Americans—who voted overwhelmingly for Obama—largely embrace the legacy of the '60s, and yet they constitute one of the most obedient, least rebellious generations in memory. The culture war is ending because cultural freedom and cultural order—the two forces that faced off in Chicago in 1968—have turned out to be reconcilable after all.

The disorder that panics Americans now is not cultural but economic. If liberalism collapsed in the 1960s because its bid for cul-

tural freedom became associated with cultural disorder, conservatism has collapsed today because its bid for economic freedom has become associated with economic disorder. When Reagan took power in 1981, he vowed to restore the economic liberty that a half-century of F.D.R.-style government intrusion had stifled. American capitalism had become so thoroughly domesticated, he argued, that it lost its capacity for dynamic growth. For a time, a majority of Americans agreed. Taxes and regulations were cut and cut again, and for the most part, the economic pie grew. In the 1980s and '90s, the garden of American capitalism became a pretty energetic place. But it became a scarier place too. In the newly deregulated American economy, fewer people had job security or fixed benefit pensions or reliable health care. Some got rich, but a lot went bankrupt, mostly because of health-care costs. As Yale University political scientist Jacob Hacker has noted, Americans today experience far more violent swings in household income than did their parents a generation ago.

Starting in the 1990s, average Americans began deciding that the conservative economic agenda was a bit like the liberal cultural agenda of the 1960s: less liberating than frightening. When the Gingrich Republicans tried to slash Medicare, the public turned on them en masse. A decade later, when George W. Bush tried to partially privatize Social Security, Americans rebelled once again. In 2005 a Pew Research Center survey identified a new group of voters that it called "pro-government conservatives." They were culturally conservative and hawkish on foreign policy, and they overwhelmingly supported Bush in 2004. But by large majorities, they endorsed government regulation and government spending. They didn't want to unleash the free market; they wanted to rein it in.

Those voters were a time bomb in the Republican coalition, which detonated on Nov. 4. John McCain's promises to cut taxes, cut spending and get government out of the way left them cold. Among the almost half of voters who said they were "very worried" that the economic crisis would hurt their family, Obama beat McCain by 26 points.

The public mood on economics today is a lot like the public mood on culture 40 years ago: Americans want government to impose law and order—to keep their 401(k)s from going down, to keep their health-care premiums from going up, to keep their jobs from going overseas—and they don't much care whose heads Washington has to bash to do it.

Seizing the Moment

THAT IS BOTH OBAMA'S GREAT CHALLENGE and his great opportunity. If he can do

what F.D.R. did—make American capitalism stabler and less savage—he will establish a Democratic majority that dominates U.S. politics for a generation. And despite the daunting problems he inherits, he's got an excellent chance. For one thing, taking aggressive action to stimulate the economy, regulate the financial industry and shore up the American welfare state won't divide his political coalition; it will divide the other side. On domestic economics, Democrats up and down the class ladder mostly agree. Even among Democratic Party economists, the divide that existed during the Clinton years between deficit hawks like Robert Rubin and free spenders like Robert Reich has largely evaporated, as everyone has embraced a bigger government role. Today it's Republicans who—though more unified on cultural issues—are split badly between upscale business types who want govern-

The culture war is ending because freedom and order—the two forces that faced off in 1968—have turned out to be reconcilable after all

ment out of the way and pro-government conservatives who want Washington's help. If Obama moves forcefully to restore economic order, the *Wall Street Journal* will squawk about creeping socialism, as it did in F.D.R.'s day, but many downscale Republicans will cheer. It's these working-class Reagan Democrats who could become tomorrow's Obama Republicans—a key component of a new liberal majority—if he alleviates their economic fears.

Obama doesn't have to turn the economy around overnight. After all, Roosevelt hadn't ended the Depression by 1936. Obama just needs modest economic improvement by the time he starts running for re-election and an image as someone relentlessly focused on fixing America's economic woes. In allocating his time in his first months as President, he should remember what voters told exit pollsters they cared about most—63% said the economy. (No other issue even exceeded 10%.)

In politics, crisis often brings opportunity. If Obama restores some measure of economic order, kick-starting U.S. capitalism and softening its hard edges, and if he develops the kind of personal rapport with ordinary Americans that F.D.R. and Reagan had—and he has the communication skills

to do it—liberals will probably hold sway in Washington until Sasha and Malia have kids. As that happens, the arguments that have framed economic debate in recent times—for large upper-income tax cuts or the partial privatization of Social Security and Medicare—will fade into irrelevance. In an era of liberal hegemony, they will seem as archaic as defending the welfare system became when conservatives were on top.

A New Consensus

THERE ARE FAULT LINES IN THE OBAMA coalition, to be sure. In a two-party system, it's impossible to construct a majority without bringing together people who disagree on big things. But Obama's majority is at least as cohesive as Reagan's or F.D.R.'s. The cultural issues that have long divided Democrats—gay marriage, gun control, abortion—are receding in importance as a post-'60s generation grows to adulthood. Foreign policy doesn't divide Democrats as bitterly as it used to either because, in the wake of Iraq, once-hawkish working-class whites have grown more skeptical of military force. In 2004, 22% of voters told exit pollsters that "moral values" were their top priority, and 19% said terrorism. This year terrorism got 9%, and no social issues even made the list.

The biggest potential land mine in the Obama coalition isn't the culture war or foreign policy; it's nationalism. On a range of issues, from global warming to immigration to trade to torture, college-educated liberals want to integrate more deeply America's economy, society and values with the rest of the world's. They want to make it easier for people and goods to legally cross America's borders, and they want global rules that govern how much America can pollute the atmosphere and how it conducts the war on terrorism. They believe that ceding some sovereignty is essential to making America prosperous, decent and safe. When it comes to free trade, immigration and multilateralism, though, downscale Democrats are more skeptical. In the future, the old struggle between freedom and order may play itself out on a global scale, as liberal internationalists try to establish new rules for a more interconnected planet and working-class nationalists protest that foreign bureaucrats threaten America's freedom.

But that's in the future. If Obama begins restoring order to the economy, Democrats will reap the rewards for a long time. Forty years ago, liberalism looked like the problem in a nation spinning out of control. Today a new version of it may be the solution. It's a very different day in Grant Park. ■

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The Messiah Myth

Americans hope Obama's election can save the black community. But we're saving ourselves

SINCE BARACK OBAMA'S VICTORY CELEBRATION in Grant Park, the chattering class has been atwitter wondering what, exactly, his election will mean for African Americans. On *Meet the Press*, Tom Brokaw asked about the "impact... on the black community and in those neighborhoods where there are dysfunctional families." To many pundits, both black and white, Obama's election to the White House signals the end of black America's unchallenged status as sore losers and complaint-mongers. "African Americans have just entered the no-excuses zone," Jonetta Rose Barras wrote in the *Washington Post*. Obama "won't tolerate... the long-standing narrative of victimhood that has defined black America to itself and to the mainstream for more than a century." The writer John McWhorter, in *New York* magazine, went so far as to suggest that Obama will finally end the bullying of the black nerd: "Whenever a black nerd gets teased for thinking he's white, all he has to say is four words: 'Is Barack Obama white?'"

That's terrible advice for a kid. But it's in line with those who think of Obama as a messiah who can give black people some manners, a God-child descending from the heavens to teacheth benighted African Americans the virtues of books and proper English and the evils of Pacman Jones and blaming the white man. It pains me to deliver this sobering news to those who

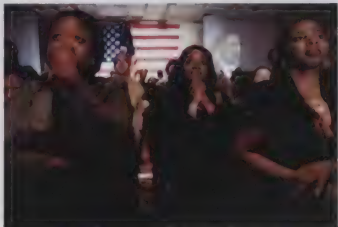
think Obama will wave his hand and erase whole ghettos: Barack Obama is a black President, not black Jesus.

In fact, the very idea that Obama should transform African Americans into the black Waltons is flawed. It rests on the notion that the black community, more than other communities, is characterized by a bunch of hapless layabouts who spend their days ticking off reparations demands and shaking their fist at the white man.

Jackson claimed that Obama was "talking down to black people," there was no real rush among blacks to defend Jackson. That's because, in terms of their outlook, their belief in hard work and family, African Americans aren't any different from white Americans.

The belief in Obama as a force for moral reform rests on another shaky pillar—the idea that people should get their values from what they see on television. This goes for entertainers and Presidents. Obama can't do the work of the family. It's not his job to buy your kid a belt or teach him to box. His job is to monitor this nation's nuclear arsenal, not your daughter's iPod.

In this post-civil rights age, with the media hungry for a single black narrative, there is a strong desire to have one voice speak to—and for—us all. But that impulse is wrong, whether it's focused on Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton or Barack Obama. It's wrong because it distorts and flattens the very complexities and contradictions that ultimately make black people



Role model Obama supporters watch his Nov. 4 acceptance speech

The truth is that the dominant conversation in the black community today is not about racism or victimization but about self-improvement. In a 2007 Pew survey of black America, Bill Cosby was rated second among public figures believed to have the best influence on African Americans; Oprah, not exactly a doyenne of black complaint, ranked first. That same year, a study of young people by the University of Chicago found that while black kids consumed more rap videos than their white counterparts, about 60% of them thought the portrayals of black women were offensive.

Obama has made a particular point of invoking the individual will of African Americans, but anyone who has spent time in a black church or barbershop—or just watched the crowds when Obama puts forth the message—can tell you that it isn't exactly a tough sell. When Jesse

human. In 2006, this magazine reported on a University of Minnesota study that found, not surprisingly, that blacks were more likely than whites to see racism in the world. But the same study also found that blacks were more likely than whites to blame the lack of black progress on individual factors like hard work.

The truth is that the people create the conditions for the leader, not the other way around. Obama isn't bringing moral values to the black community; he's responding to the community's own innate, quasi-conservative embrace of those values. Thus the question of what Obama has to teach black people is exactly backward. The real question is what black people, through Barack Obama, have to show America and the world.

There are those who think of Obama as a messiah sent to give black people manners, the virtues of books and the evils of blaming the white man

Coates is a contributor to *TIME* and *the Atlantic*

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Is GM Worth Saving?

The automaker may not deserve a bailout, but losing it could wreck the economy

BY BILL SAPORITO

FOR MONTHS, GENERAL MOTORS HAD been telling everyone who would listen that bankruptcy was not an option. It had a \$30 billion cash pile and plans to restructure the company as the economy rebounded and 2007 U.S. auto sales topped 16 million units.

Then came October. Sales plummeted an astounding 45% over the same period last year, a result of a slowing economy and a dearth of financing for would-be car buyers. Total U.S. car and light-truck sales this year could come in at 13.5 million, 2.6 million fewer than last year. "That's in nobody's business plan," says Kimberly Rodriguez, an automotive specialist with Grant Thornton. "The best planning in the world cannot survive that fluctuation." It's now clear that GM can't survive as an ongoing entity without massive federal assistance. The company is burning through more than \$2 billion

each month. It has \$16 billion left. As if they were aboard a dirigible losing altitude, GM's bosses have been frantically throwing all manner of stuff overboard—retiree health care benefits, people, assets, new car design—to conserve \$5 billion. That will get it through the year.

But 2009 is the year of reckoning for GM and the rest of the domestic auto industry, if not the economy as a whole. The GM crisis is raising once again the issue of how far the government should go in rescuing banks, insurance companies, mortgage holders, credit-card issuers and now carmakers. GM has no doubts about it. "Immediate federal funding is essential in order for the U.S. automotive industry to weather this downturn," GM president Fritz Henderson admitted to investors during a conference call in which GM announced a third-quarter loss of \$2.5 billion.

No one is more aware of that need than Barack Obama, who carried Michigan by a huge margin. The President-elect is committed to helping the Detroit Three, and House Speaker Nancy Pelosi is leading a rescue party that plans to get a bailout bill in front of President Bush before Thanksgiving. So far, the President has offered only to speed through Congress an already approved \$25 billion loan to help Detroit create new fuel-efficient models. But GM needs an additional \$10 billion simply to pay its bills next year and \$15 billion more to close plants, compensate redundant workers and dump some of its lesser-performing brands.

The issue boils down to a historic proposition: Is what's good for GM still good for the country?

"If GM were to go into a free-fall bankruptcy and didn't pay its trade debts, then the entire domestic auto industry shuts down," says Rodriguez. The system—the domestic auto plants and their interconnected group of suppliers—is far bigger than GM. It includes 54 North American manufacturing plants and at least 4,000 so-called Tier 1 suppliers—firms that feed parts and subassemblies directly to those plants. That includes mom-and-pop outfits but also a dozen or so large companies such as Lear, Johnson Controls and GM's former captive Delphi. Beyond those are thousands of the suppliers' suppliers.

Although the Detroit Three directly employed about 240,000 people last year,

according to the industry-allied Center for Automotive Research (CAR) in Ann Arbor, Mich., the multiplier effect is large, which is typical in manufacturing. Throw in the partsmakers and other suppliers, and you have an additional 974,000 jobs. Together, says CAR, these 1.2 million workers spend enough to keep 1.7 million more people employed. That gets you to 2.9 million jobs tied to the Detroit Three, and even if you discount the figures because of CAR's allegiance, it's a big number. Shut down Detroit, and the national unemployment rate heads toward 10% in a hurry.

Even if just one of the Detroit Three—and GM is the most likely, as Ford is in better shape and Chrysler is much smaller—spiraled into a free-fall bankruptcy, the systemic effects, at least initially, would be huge. The whole industry would not be able to build cars in the U.S., because of the lack of parts. "Unlike the airlines or steel, when you look at the automobile industry and the fact that the whole supplier base is connected—to Ford, Chrysler, Toyota—it will have a ripple effect on the entire industry," says Nicole Y. Lamb Hale, a bankruptcy expert at the Detroit office of Foley & Lardner, a law firm that represents some GM suppliers.

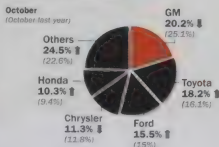
A carefully planned, prepackaged bankruptcy would still be troublesome, she says. Throwing 479,000 GM retirees onto the rolls of the Pension Benefit Guaranty Corp., for instance, could overwhelm it. And GM's agreement to fund the United Auto Workers' voluntary employee beneficiary association (VEBA)—thus getting a \$50 billion unfunded liability off its books—might then be in jeopardy, as would the union's health benefits. The VEBA has already saved GM nearly \$5 billion in the past quarter, and still greater benefits lie ahead.

A bailout won't spare GM or its workers pain. Assuming the government bridges GM to the future—or provides debtor-in-possession financing in a bankruptcy—there is still a ton of restructuring to do. The company operates 21 plants in North America and has three more that are scheduled to close. But Grant Thornton's Rodriguez says that still leaves five to go to match demand. "They still need to take structural steps: reduce suppliers, reduce the number of plants, reduce the cost structure and get rid of excessive debt." Most analysts say GM has to dump underperforming brands too.

Shutting down plants and cutting labor are costly—it's one of the ironies of the auto business. Deutsche Bank estimates that GM would have to spend \$12 billion to chop labor costs and compensate dealers

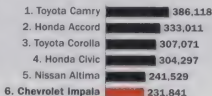
GM's Big Fall

GM's market share has slipped from a year ago ...

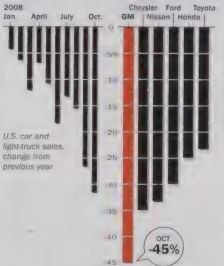


... its top-selling car ranks sixth

Best-selling U.S. cars, 2008



All car sales were down this year ...



... leading to GM's plunge in value



Sources: Ward's AutoBank; Automotive News; Bloomberg News

who lose their franchises. That would lower GM's North American operating costs from the current \$31 billion to \$25 billion annually, says Deutsche Bank.


None of this can happen without the cooperation of the UAW, which is probably feeling better knowing that Obama is on his way to Washington. Although it hasn't shown its hand, the UAW may try to mitigate job losses in the U.S. by pushing GM and Ford to build fewer vehicles in Mexico, according to Sean McAlinden, chief economist at CAR. Obama might be sympathetic to that argument; he said during the campaign that NAFTA needed to be re-examined. The carrot for GM is that any new workers it hires in the U.S. will make \$13 to \$14 an hour and collect limited benefits rather than work for \$29 an hour and get full benefits—the old UAW wage.

There's also a legitimate question as to who would do the restructuring. GM CEO Rick Wagoner has made the case that his crew is best placed to run the turnaround since it knows where the cost buttons are. But critics like Jim Schrage at the University of Chicago Booth School of Business say the wrong people are in charge: "I think you would only put money in GM if you had a complete change in the board and the current management. They are diligent. They worked very hard, but it just hasn't worked." In Schrage's view, GM is a strategic failure. It can manufacture high-quality cars, but it neither makes the right kind nor markets them effectively. He'd bust the company up into three independent firms: Chevy, Buick-Pontiac-GMC and Cadillac-Saab-Saturn.

If that's ultimately where Detroit ends up, is it worth the price to get there? Put another way, does GM deserve to be bailed out or left at the mercy of the market and almost certain death? "The University of Chicago training in me says the market should prevail," says Schrage. "But the Chrysler bailout was a success, and, gosh, I'd love to save it." That sentiment is not shared by everyone, and it goes to the heart of the central economic debate facing the country—between hard-nosed capitalists, who believe the market should decide, and public-policy types who view the economy as something far more organic than a balance sheet. But ultimately, whether GM is dead or alive, the taxpayers are on the hook for billions, for everything from lost tax revenues to higher unemployment costs to taking over GM's pension obligations. The decision that Washington has to make is whether we pay for GM's survival or for its funeral. —WITH REPORTING BY JOSEPH R. SZCZESNY/DETROIT



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Lunesta®

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1, 2 AND 3 MG TABLETS

Important Patient Information

LUNESTA® (lū'-nes'-tā) Tablets, Coated C-IV (eszopiclone)

Read the Medication Guide that comes with LUNESTA before you start taking it and each time you get a refill. There may be new information. The Medication Guide does not take the place of talking to your doctor about your medical condition or treatment.

What is the most important information I should know about LUNESTA?

After taking LUNESTA, you may get up out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. The next morning, you may not remember that you did anything during the night. You have a higher chance for doing these activities if you drink alcohol or take other medicines that make you sleepy with LUNESTA. Reported activities include:

- driving a car ("sleep-driving")
- making and eating food
- talking on the phone
- having sex
- sleep-walking

Call your doctor right away if you find out that you have done any of the above activities after taking LUNESTA.

Important:

1. Take LUNESTA exactly as prescribed

- Do not take more LUNESTA than prescribed.
- Take LUNESTA right before you get in bed, not sooner.

2. Do not take LUNESTA if you:

- drink alcohol.
- take other medicines that can make you sleepy. Talk to your doctor about all of your medicines. Your doctor will tell you if you can take LUNESTA with your other medicines.
- cannot get a full night's sleep

What is LUNESTA?

LUNESTA is a federally controlled substance (C-IV) because it can be abused or lead to dependence. Keep LUNESTA in a safe place to prevent misuse and abuse. Selling or giving away LUNESTA may harm others, and is against the law. Tell your doctor if you have ever abused or been dependent on alcohol, prescription medicines or street drugs.

LUNESTA is not for children.

Who should not take LUNESTA?

Do not take LUNESTA if you are allergic to anything in it.
See the end of this page for a complete list of ingredients in LUNESTA.

LUNESTA may not be right for you. Before starting LUNESTA, tell your doctor about all of your health conditions, including if you:

- have a history of depression, mental illness, or suicidal thoughts
- have a history of drug or alcohol abuse or addiction
- have liver disease
- are pregnant, planning to become pregnant, or breastfeeding

Tell your doctor about all of the medicines you take including prescription and nonprescription medicines, vitamins and herbal supplements. Medicines can interact with each other, sometimes causing serious side effects. Do not take LUNESTA with other medicines that can make you sleepy.

Know the medicines you take. Keep a list of your medicines with you to show your doctor and pharmacist each time you get a new medicine.

How should I take LUNESTA?

- Take LUNESTA exactly as prescribed. Do not take more LUNESTA than prescribed for you.
- Take LUNESTA right before you get into bed.
- Do not take LUNESTA with or right after a meal.
- Do not take LUNESTA unless you are able to get a full night's sleep before you must be active again.
- Call your doctor if your insomnia worsens or is not better within 7 to 10 days. This may mean that there is another condition causing your sleep problems.
- If you take too much LUNESTA or overdose, call your doctor or poison control center right away, or get emergency treatment.

What are the possible side effects of LUNESTA?

Possible serious side effects of LUNESTA include:

- getting out of bed while not being fully awake and do an activity that you do not know you are doing. (See "What is the most important information I should know about LUNESTA?")
- abnormal thoughts and behavior. Symptoms include more outgoing or aggressive behavior than normal, confusion, agitation, hallucinations, worsening of depression, and suicidal thoughts or actions.
- memory loss
- anxiety
- severe allergic reactions. Symptoms include swelling of the tongue or throat, trouble breathing, and nausea and vomiting. Get emergency medical help if you get these symptoms after taking LUNESTA.

Call your doctor right away if you have any of the above side effects or any other side effects that worry you while using LUNESTA.

The most common side effects of LUNESTA are:

- unpleasant taste in mouth, dry mouth
- drowsiness
- dizziness
- headache
- symptoms of the common cold
- You may still feel drowsy the next day after taking LUNESTA. Do not drive or do other dangerous activities after taking LUNESTA until you feel fully awake.

These are not all the side effects of LUNESTA. Ask your doctor or pharmacist for more information. Call your doctor for medical advice about side effects. You may report side effects to FDA at 1-800-FDA-1088.

How should I store LUNESTA?

- Store LUNESTA at room temperature, between 59°F to 86°F (15°C to 30°C).
- Do not use LUNESTA after the expiration date.
- Keep LUNESTA and all medicines out of reach of children.

General information about LUNESTA

- Medicines are sometimes prescribed for purposes other than those listed in a Medication Guide.
- Do not use LUNESTA for a condition for which it was not prescribed.
- Do not share LUNESTA with other people, even if you think they have the same symptoms that you have. It may harm them and is against the law.

This page summarizes the most important information about LUNESTA. If you would like more information, talk with your doctor. You can ask your doctor or pharmacist for information about LUNESTA that is written for healthcare professionals.

- For customer service, call 1-888-394-7377
- To report side effects, call 1-877-737-7226
- For medical information, call 1-800-739-0565

What are the ingredients in LUNESTA?

Active ingredient: eszopiclone

Inactive ingredients: calcium phosphate, colloidal silicon dioxide, croscarmellose sodium, hypromellose, lactose, magnesium stearate, microcrystalline cellulose, polyethylene glycol, titanium dioxide, and triacetin.

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May 2008



Extra Money

To read Justin Fox's daily take on business and the economy, go to time.com/curiouscapitalist



Stimulating Times

Washington is gearing up to spend hundreds of billions to boost the economy. Will it work?

IF YOU HAD QUIZZED ECONOMISTS ON the topic a decade ago, most would have told you that passing legislation to stimulate the economy was pointless. Getting the timing right was too hard. Increasing the deficit could bring higher interest rates that would stifle growth. Besides, the Federal Reserve, with its legions of smart economists and ability to make quick changes in monetary policy, was in a far better position to battle downturns than Congress was.

Times sure have changed. Fiscal stimulus is Topic A in Washington. Congress is returning for a lame-duck session with plans to pass a spending bill in the \$100 billion range. An even bigger effort is likely in January, when Barack Obama moves into the White House. And it's not just Washington: China has announced a \$586 billion stimulus plan, although it's not clear how much of that will be new spending. Germany has approved \$29 billion in spending and tax cuts. British Prime Minister Gordon Brown is expected to announce tax cuts soon.

The simple idea behind all these efforts is that consumers and businesses aren't spending enough to keep the economy growing; government either needs to tempt them into doing so with tax cuts or do the spending itself. In the U.S., many economists are urging a total stimulus of at least \$300 billion, or 2% of GDP. A few say \$500 billion or \$600 billion makes more sense—and that's on top of the hundreds of billions already committed to bailing out financial institutions. Goldman Sachs chief U.S. economist Jan Hatzius, who is in the \$500 billion camp,

estimates that private spending will drop by at least 6% of GDP over the next year or two. To keep that retrenchment from yanking the economy downward into depression, government must step up.

At least that's the thinking. But remember, the thinking a decade ago was that stimulus was pointless. What changed?

First, the most extreme economic argument against temporary fiscal



stimulus—that consumers and businesses would see through it and restrict spending to prepare for the tax increases or spending cuts to come—has lost almost all its adherents. Economists no longer believe humans are that farsighted.

Second, a stimulus package—the tax rebate of 2001—was widely credited with helping end that year's downturn. The good timing was in part luck; President Bush had been pushing for a tax cut whether there was a recession or not. But it showed that fiscal stimulus could work.

Finally, and most important, what we're facing now isn't your garden-variety recession. This downturn is likely to be deep, and the economy will probably remain weak for several years—meaning there isn't much cause to worry that stimulus would overheat an already strong recovery. Meanwhile,

the Fed, which normally stimulates the economy via the financial system, is having trouble doing so because the financial system is broken. And the usual concern that government will crowd out private borrowers isn't an issue. "The government has a window in which it can borrow very aggressively," says Mark Zandi, chief economist at Moody's Economy.com, "because no one else is borrowing."

The big question is what form the stimulus should take. Pretty much any kind can work—what finally put a definite end to the Great Depression was military spending in World War II. But some kinds are more effective than others. For the past eight years, tax cuts have been the favored means of pumping up the economy. There's much to be said for putting spending power in the hands of hundreds of millions of Americans rather than those of a few bureaucrats, but there is a catch. People tend to save part of their tax rebates. In 2001 about two-thirds of the \$38 billion mailed out to taxpayers was spent within six months. It looks as if the spending percentage will be smaller for this

year's \$95 billion in rebates.

Armed with this information and a few reasonable if not entirely uncontroversial assumptions about how the economy works, Zandi's firm has estimated the one-year impact on GDP of several stimulus proposals per dollar of spending or lost revenue; for example, a tax rebate like this summer's would generate \$1.22 on the dollar. Extending unemployment benefits would bring in \$1.63; infrastructure spending, \$1.59; and a temporary increase in food-stamp benefits, \$1.73. Making the Bush income tax cuts permanent would bring in just 31¢ on the dollar. So spending increases would seem to be in order. Bush has resisted that so far—and may continue to resist. In January that won't matter anymore. Then we get to find out if fiscal stimulus really can save us.

Because consumers and businesses aren't spending enough to keep the economy growing, government needs to do the spending itself

A close-up photograph of a woman wearing a vibrant red headscarf. Her face is partially visible, showing a look of distress or hope as she looks upwards. The background is blurred, suggesting an outdoor setting. The overall tone is somber and urgent.

WORLD

The Suffering Of Somalia

High-seas pirates, starving refugees and al-Qaeda-linked terrorists: how a failed East African nation's problems are spreading beyond its borders

BY ALEX PERRY

Where is the world? Women and children wait to be fed by the World Food Programme in Mogadishu. Getting help to hungry and homeless Somalis has become



progressively harder as the violence has risen, claiming the lives of many U.N. staffers and aid workers

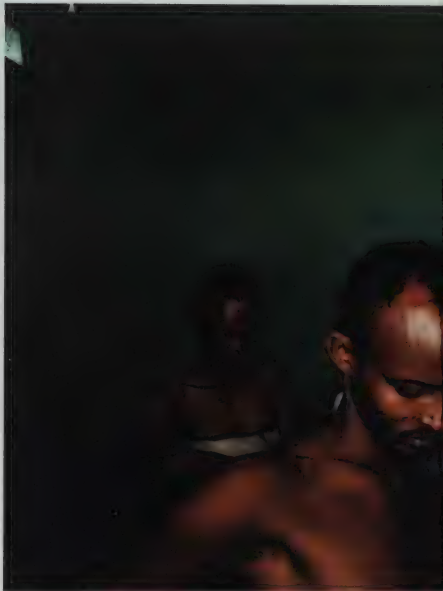
Photographs by Jihad Nga

FOR SOMALIA, IT WAS JUST ANOTHER long weekend of mayhem. Shortly after midnight on Friday, Nov. 7, pirates seized a Danish cargo ship in the Gulf of Aden; on Saturday night an aid worker was shot and killed as he walked home from evening prayers in a village 270 miles (435 km) from Mogadishu; on Sunday, fighting between insurgents and African Union peacekeepers left at least seven dead in the capital, and a senior government official was killed in the south of the country; and in the early hours of Monday, bandits crossed the border into Kenya, where they kidnapped two Italian nuns. Somalia is not so much a failed state as a didn't-even-try one. It hasn't had a government since 1991, when warlords took over and embarked on a series of intractable clan wars that have produced one of the world's worst humanitarian crises: hundreds of thousands dead and 3 million people desperately in need of aid.

But aid is almost impossible to deliver in a place as remote, dangerous and complicated as Somalia. Those who try to help too often come to grief: according to the United Nations, eight of its staffers and 24 aid workers have been killed this year. As a result, "the humanitarian space is effectively closed," says Ken Menkhous, the U.S.'s leading expert on Somalia and a professor of political science at Davidson College in North Carolina. The 3,000 African Union peacekeepers don't stray far beyond their base in Mogadishu for fear of being slaughtered by insurgents—remember *Black Hawk Down*?

Offshore, a growing flotilla of warships from the U.S., Russia, the European Union and India has been trying to keep Somali pirates from taking their pick of the 16,000 mainly cargo ships that pass through the Suez Canal annually. There are several gangs of pirates; armed with Kalashnikov rifles and traveling on small fishing boats and skiffs, they have attacked more than 80 ships and hijacked at least 30, collecting anywhere from \$18 million to \$30 million in ransom, according to the British strategic think tank Chatham House. Big paydays have made them progressively bolder: one gang is still holding on to the MV *Faina*, the Ukrainian freighter carrying a consignment of Russian tanks that was hijacked on Sept. 25.

As the navies of the world are rediscovering, catching pirates on the high seas is next to impossible. So far, the warships have warded off some pirate attacks but not enough to scare the gangs. "We hijack ships every opportunity we get," says pirate commander Sugule Ali, speaking by satellite phone from the bridge of the MV *Faina*.





'We hijack ships every opportunity we get.'

—SUGULE ALI, PIRATE COMMANDER

High and dry Local authorities have nabbed some pirates, like these men jailed in the port of Bossaso, but many gangs prey on high-seas shipping with impunity

Perilous seas Pirates hit not only international shipping; fishermen from ports like Bossaso have also been attacked

Young and dangerous Extremists known as al-Shabaab (Youth) train outside Mogadishu



The Face of Piracy

A prison in Somalia houses modern-day robbers of the high seas: go to time.com/pirates

Somalia's problems have spilled beyond its borders, with a constant flow of refugees being smuggled in by leaky boats to Yemen and even more walking south to Kenya. There are more than 200,000 people crowded into the world's biggest refugee camp, at Dadaab, 62 miles (100 km) south of the frontier; some 5,000 new refugees arrive every month.

But Somalia's most dangerous export is terrorism. Before the Bush Administration's Iraq digression, Somalia was target No. 2 in the war on terrorism, behind Afghanistan. After all, it was a Somalia-based al-Qaeda group that killed 224 people in the twin bombings of the U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in August 1998. But it wasn't until the end of 2006, when Somalia was invaded by the U.S.-allied Ethiopia, that American covert missions targeted the embassy bombers. One of the masterminds, explosives expert Abu Taha al-Sudani, is now dead, as is Aden Hashi Farah Ayro, an Afghanistan-trained former leader of al-Shabaab, Somalia's homegrown Islamist militia.

But as in Afghanistan, such successes are undermined by resentment of U.S. military activity and civilian casualties—and the blowback empowers the extremists. Al-Shabaab (Arabic for Youth) now controls much of the south of the country, in the manner of the Taliban: on Oct. 27, 1,000 spectators gathered at a sports stadium in the port of Kismayo to watch al-Shabaab stone to death a 13-year-old girl, Aisha Ibrahim Duhulow. Amnesty International says al-Shabaab arrested her and convicted her of adultery after she complained she had been gang-raped.

Al-Shabaab is taking its brand of terrorism to new territories. On Oct. 29, members detonated five car and suicide bombs outside U.N., Ethiopian government and local administration buildings in the autonomous northern regions of Puntland and Somaliland, killing more than 30 people. "They are willing to expand their war," says Menkhaus. "And Ethiopia, Kenya or Djibouti are next."

The one encouraging development in Somalia is the emergence of Iraq-style Awakening militias made up of moderate Somalis, who have taken on al-Shabaab in street battles in recent weeks. If Ethiopian and African Union troops withdraw as expected in the next few months and Somalis increasingly have to fend for themselves, the chances are that this will grow into a full-scale conflict. Still, an Awakening would also offer Somalia's best hope of keeping its extremists in check. Perhaps only in Somalia could the prospect of more war be a sign of hope. ■

Back to The Moon

Forty years after the first manned lunar landing, the race is on to return. This time, the U.S. faces more competition than just the U.S.S.R. of old. How about China, India and Google for starters?

BY JEFFREY KLUGER/HOUSTON



In 1968 TIME covered the U.S.-Soviet moon race. At far right, artist Robert Grossman reprises his work

YOU PROBABLY WOULDN'T have had much fun on the surface of the moon. It's not the exploring or the bouncing or the buggy roving that would have bothered you. It's the worrying.

Landing on the moon is fine, but you need to get home too. That means heaving your multiton spacecraft back off the ground and up into space—and if that's

going to happen, all its thousands of components have to work just so. There's no guarantee that they will—which is why the first time men landed on the moon, President Richard Nixon had a short address prepared just in case things went wrong. "Fate has ordained that the men who went to the moon to explore in peace will stay on the moon to rest in peace," he would have said. When they're writing your obit while you're still alive, it's hard to have a good time.

But the astronauts themselves had a grand time on the moon—and the U.S. had just as much fun sending them there. For a big, loud, hootenanny nation like ours—one that has spent the better part of its history whooping its way west—having an empty landmass to explore a quarter-million miles (more than 400,000 km) offshore was a powerful tonic. The fact that the exploring took place in what was otherwise a very hard decade made the experience only more bracing.

By any measure, the current decade is a hard one too. And again—perhaps coincidentally, perhaps not—we're eyeing the moon. By 2015, to hear NASA tell it, a new manned spacecraft—the evocatively named *Orion*—will be carrying crews to Earth's orbit. By 2020, *Orion* will be paired with the lunar lander *Altair*. That same year, fresh American bootprints will be made on the lunar soil—the first since the Apollo 17 mission in 1972. Contractors have been chosen, metal is being cut, and most important, money has been allocated. "This is a real program," says Jeff Hanley, manager of NASA's Constellation program, which oversees manned exploration. "We're spending a couple hundred million dollars a month, and thousands of people are marching to a strategy."

Globalization is driving the new push. As the economies of Asia and Europe spread new wealth, more and more countries are realizing that the moon is within reach. Never mind the two-party U.S.-Soviet moon race of old. This time China is in

'China has read the Apollo playbook. They understand everything the U.S. got from the lunar program.'

—JOAN JOHNSON-FREESE, NAVAL WAR COLLEGE, NEWPORT, R.I.



INDIA

Chandrayaan-1 ("moon craft" in Hindi) launched Oct. 22. The ship is an orbiter; a rover may follow



U.S.

The new lunar rover may include an airtight add-on cabin so crews can explore the moon in comfort



CHINA

A U.S. astronaut gazes down from a poster, but China now has its own "taikonauts" to brag about



the hunt. So are India, Japan and the entire 17-nation European Space Agency (ESA). On Oct. 22, India launched its Chandrayaan-1 spacecraft, an unmanned lunar orbiter that marks the country's first table stakes in the moon game. China's Chang'e 1 spacecraft is already in lunar orbit, as is Japan's Selene. Europe's SMART-1 entered lunar orbit in 2003, and the ESA wants to go back. China broadly aims to have astronauts on the moon by 2020. The ESA is hoping to build a "global robotic village" by 2016 and a permanent manned base by 2024.

And none of this includes the private sector. Last fall, Google offered a \$30 million prize to any group that lands a robot on the lunar surface before Dec. 31, 2012, travels at least 500 m (1,640 ft.) and sends back video. In the first six months after the prize was announced, 560 groups from 53

But China's true fascination has long been the moon—at least since 1978, when the U.S. presented Beijing with a 1-g (0.35 oz.) sample of lunar rock brought back by the Apollo 17 mission. Chinese officials razored off half of that moon crumb and gave it to scientists to study. "From that half a gram, we produced 40 papers," space scientist Ouyang Ziyuan told the *People's Daily*.

China won't be begging the U.S. for lunar scraps anymore. Chang'e 1, launched in October 2007 and named for China's goddess of the moon, is currently orbiting 125 miles (200 km) above the lunar surface. The ship is stuffed with equipment to study the ground and look for possible landing sites. Chang'e 2 is set to follow next year with another orbital mission, followed by a rover in 2012 and a robotic sample-return mission in 2017. A manned trip could come

ing national economy—notwithstanding the current global slowdown. "What is the purpose of 8% growth if we can't make the spending necessary to sustain it?" asks Krishnaswamy Kasturirangan, former chairman of the Indian Space Research Organization (ISRO), India's NASA.

The biggest difference between the old moon race and the new one may be the role of the private sector. In 2004 pilot and aerospace designer Bert Rutan copped the \$10 million Ansari X Prize by designing the first manned vehicle to fly to and from suborbital space twice within a week. In September 2007, aerospace engineer Peter Diamandis, CEO of the X Prize group, announced he was partnering with Google to offer a new, \$30 million Lunar X Prize, with the goal of having a private rover toddling about the moon by the end of 2012.



nations expressed interest. All at once, the moon, which has spent nearly 40 years as a cultural colony of the U.S. alone, has a lot of new claimants.

Robots First

THE MOST POWERFUL PLAYER IN THE MOON race, apart from the U.S., is China. If the past hundred years were the American century, the next hundred could be China's, and nothing says rising power like a space program. "Chinese people have a lot of feeling for President Kennedy," says Li Jing, an astronomer formerly with the Chinese Academy of Science. "The Apollo project catapulted the U.S. into scientific leadership. The U.S.'s national power shot up. Chinese people are very clear about that."

In 2003, China acted on that clarity, launching its first manned mission, a 14-orbit flight by a lone astronaut. In 2005 a two-man crew went up for a five-day stay, and in September 2008, a three-man team flew a mission complete with a spacewalk.

after that. "The Chinese have read the Apollo playbook," says Joan Johnson-Freese, an expert on the Chinese space program at the Naval War College in Newport, R.I.

India's moon program is less ambitious—so far—but the country has a deep space tradition. The Indian government has been in the satellite-launching game since 1975, but it always focused on such bread-and-butter science as land-mapping, weather-forecasting and communications. In a country struggling with chronic poverty, even the most ambitious ruling party dared go no further. All that changed in 1998, when India and Pakistan rattled the world with dueling nuclear tests. In the heady, protech rush that followed, then Prime Minister Atal Vajpayee approved an Indian lunar push and chose to make the announcement as part of the Independence Day celebrations of 2003. A Chandrayaan-2 rover is planned for 2011.

Like the Chinese program, the Indian one would not exist at all but for a roar-

The vast majority of the teams responding to the contest do not have the skill or seed money to compete seriously. But so far 14 groups do, and Google has okayed them as contestants. Made up mostly of aerospace and software pros, the teams are allowed to use commercial rockets to launch their probes but must build the ships and steer them to a moon landing on their own. The designers exhibit a surprising sangfroid about their work. "There's no magic. We did it in the '60s, and the physics are the same," says aerospace engineer Bob Richards, head of a design team.

The Humans Return

ROBOTS, OF COURSE, ARE LIMITED—scouts and surrogates largely unsuited to the complex lunar work researchers want to undertake. Geologists hope to continue the studies of solar-system origins that the Apollo crews began (before Nixon scrapped the manned-moon program in favor of the ostensibly more practical and affordable

space shuttle). Astronomers talk of placing a radio telescope on the moon's far side; energy experts want to mine the moon's helium 3, an isotope that could power clean-fusion reactors back on Earth. And anyone dreaming of a human presence on Mars knows that before you attempt long-duration stays on a body tens of millions of miles from home, it's best to practice on one nearby. "You wring these techniques out on the moon first," says Mark Geyser, manager of the *Orion* project.

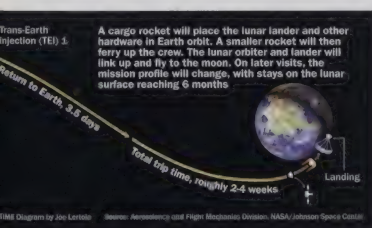
In 2004, President George W. Bush announced a moon-Mars initiative that would commit NASA to those kinds of goals. Skeptics suspected this was just a bit of election-year candy—and that may have been part of the plan. But the initial idea was accompanied by some headbashed trade-offs. The grossly overpriced Interna-

tional Space Station was cut, freeing up more payload space on the Ares V. And unlike the Saturn V, which had to be invented from the engine bells up, the Ares boosters will go the frugal route by adapting existing hardware, such as the solid fuel boosters from the shuttle and an upper-stage engine from the Saturn rockets themselves.

One of the quirkiest features of the old Apollo missions was that while three men would fly to the moon, only two would descend to the surface; the third minded the mother ship. This time there will be a four-person crew, and all the crew members will get a chance to get dirty while the orbiter that is their ticket home waits unattended above. "We have greater control over the orbiter than we used to," says Clinton Dorris, deputy manager of the *Altair* lander program. What's more, with lunar campouts

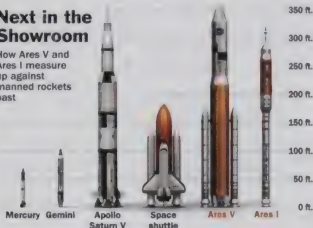
budgets for what some people see as a luxury agency like NASA. And President-elect Barack Obama may not feel much loyalty to a lunar program that so indelibly bears the Bush stamp. But having successfully reeled in Florida on Election Day, he's not likely to do anything to tick off its space-happy voters either. Plus, there are jobs to be created in a newly revived moon program. "When we won the *Orion* contract, we posted openings for 2,000 jobs," says Lockheed's Lacefield. "We received 30,000 applications."

Finally, of course, there's the question that's dogged every manned flight since the Soviet Union's Yuri Gagarin first went into orbit in 1961: Why bother? Space planners have always justified today's flights as necessary rehearsals for tomorrow's—we can't live on Mars if we don't learn to live on the moon first. True enough, but



Next in the Showroom

How Ares V and Ares I measure up against manned rockets past



tional Space Station would be completed by 2010, allowing the outdated space shuttles to be retired. This would free up between \$3 billion and \$4 billion a year without increasing NASA's budget. Since Americans still need access to space, the shuttle would be replaced with an updated Apollo-style orbiter. Pair that with a souped-up lunar lander similar to the original, and you're back on the moon. "We're anchoring our models in Apollo data points," says Cleon Lacefield, a vice president and project manager for Lockheed Martin, the prime contractor for the *Orion* orbiter.

Actually, NASA is doing Apollo one better. In the old lunar program, one massive Saturn V booster did all the lifting, but this time there will be two rockets. The Ares V, the larger of the pair, will be used to carry the new lunar lander as far as Earth's orbit and make unmanned cargo runs to the moon. The smaller Ares I will lift the command module, carrying four astronauts, to meet the lander. Dividing the job between

of up to six months planned—compared with the record three-day stay of Apollo 17 in 1972—leaving one crewmember alone is simply not tenable.

So far, *Orion* and the boosters are the furthest along in their production cycles, since every day that they delay extends the five-year period when Americans have no independent access to space. To fill that gap, the plan has been to thumb a ride to the space station with the Russians aboard their venerable Soyuz ships. But with tensions rising between Washington and Moscow since the Russian invasion of Georgia, worries are rising too. This could lead NASA either to postpone mothballing the shuttles—a bad idea when you're talking about a creaky fleet that's already claimed 14 lives—or to accelerate building the replacement vehicles.

It's no secret which option NASA prefers, but the question will be whether there's enough will and wallet to get the job done. The Wall Street crash does not portend big

couldn't we just do neither? As for deep-space observatories on the far side of the moon, the Hubble telescope has done perfectly well alone in orbit, with only a few maintenance missions in 18 years. How much harder would it be to build a moon-based telescope that didn't need any?

None of that, of course, reckons with the other piece of the equation—the wholly unscientific joy we feel when we do something as preposterous as putting people in space. None of it reckons either with the primal jolt Americans have always gotten from competition—the gunning-the-engine moment when we decide that if China and Japan and India and Europe are peeling out for the moon, the U.S. can surely beat them there. That ain't sensible, and that ain't science, but as it was 40 years ago, it sure is fun.—WITH REPORTING BY DAN CRAY/LOS ANGELES, JEFFREY T. IVERSON/PARIS, YUKI ODA/TOKYO, AUSTIN RAMZY/BEIJING, MADHUR SINGH/NEW DELHI AND YURI ZARAKHOVICH/MOSCOW ■

Wise Guy

Upending conventional wisdom has made Malcolm Gladwell famous and successful. In his new book, *Outliers*, he asks, Why on earth did that happen?

BY LEV GROSSMAN

HE STARTED WITH THE LAWYERS. "Why do they all have the same biography?" he wondered. "We take it for granted that there's this guy in New York who's the corporate lawyer, right? I just was curious: Why is it all the same guy?" It takes a special kind of brain to be curious about New York City lawyers. Such a brain belongs to Malcolm Gladwell, 45, author of *The Tipping Point* and *Blink*, the founding documents of the now best-selling genre of pop economics, which together have sold more than 4.5 million copies.

Slender, with elfin cheekbones and a distinctive bloom of spirally brown hair, Gladwell is one of those clever people who actually looks clever. His curiosity about high-achieving lawyers was the germ of his third book, *Outliers*, which will be published Nov. 18. It's a book about excep-

asking where they are from that we can unravel the logic behind who succeeds and who doesn't." *Outliers* is, in its genteel Gladwellian way, a frontal assault on the great American myth of the self-made man. (And they mostly are men. There aren't a lot of women outliers in *Outliers*.)

In some ways, Gladwell himself is, if not an outlier, then at least an outsider. He is both the son of a Jamaican woman in overwhelmingly white Canada and an academic kid from a working-class town (Elmira, Ont.). But the outsider had an in: his father, a mathematician, brought him into the rarefied world of the university. That context is not unconnected to his later success. "As a kid, 11 or something, we would go to his office, and I would wander round," he says. "I got that sense that everybody was so friendly, and their doors were open. I sort of fell in love with libraries at the same time." Now Gladwell, a *New Yorker* staff writer, specializes in milling crunchy academic material—psychology experiments, sociological studies, law articles, statistical surveys of plane crashes and classical musicians and hockey players—into prose so silky and accessible, it passes directly into the popular imagination in the form of memes. The most obvious candidate for mification in *Outliers* is a little gem Gladwell calls the 10,000-Hour Rule. Studies suggest that the key to success in any field has nothing to do with talent. It's simply practice, 10,000 hours of it—20 hours a week for 10 years.

Outliers is a more personal book than its predecessors are. If you hold it up to the light, at the right angle, you can read it as a coded autobiography: a successful man trying to figure out his own context, how success happened to him and what it means. Gladwell is asking, as he puts it over lunch, "whether successful people deserve the praise we heap on them."

After all, it's not as if Gladwell is a genius in any measurable sense. In spite of his patrimony, he had no particular gift for math. He entered college two years

early but got lousy grades. ("College was not an... intellectually fruitful time for me," he says, with the air of a man euphemizing strenuously.) He was fired from his first job in journalism, at the *American Spectator*. It wasn't until he wound up at the *Washington Post* that he really bore down and learned his craft. "I was a basket case at the beginning, and I felt like an expert at the end," he says. "It took 10 years—exactly that long." There you have it: the 10,000-Hour Rule in action.

According to *Outliers*, genius isn't the only or even the most important thing. Gladwell's weapon of choice when assaulting myths is the anecdote, and one of the book's most striking, and saddest, is the strange story of Christopher Langan, a man who despite an IQ of 195 (Einstein's was 150) wound up working on a horse farm in rural Missouri. Why isn't he a nuclear rocket surgeon? Because of the environment he grew up in: there was no one in Langan's life and nothing in his background that could help him capitalize on his exceptional gifts. "He had to make his way alone," Gladwell writes, "and no one—not rock stars, not professional athletes, not software billionaires, and not even geniuses—ever makes it alone."

You get the feeling that Gladwell feels a little guilty about his success—that on some level he thinks it should be Christopher Langan's face on the opposite page, not his, and the fact that it isn't says something about a world that isn't as meritocratic as it claims to be. You could read *Outliers* in many ways—as a brief for affirmative action; as a critique of political correctness (some stereotypes, like Asians being good at math, turn out to be true); even as a defense of Big Government. But it also explains why genius isn't enough. It makes geniuses look a bit less special and the rest of us a bit more so. *Outliers* wasn't intended as autobiography, Gladwell says. "But you could read it as an extended apology for my success." Apology accepted. ■

'No one—not rock stars, not professional athletes, not software billionaires, and not even geniuses—ever makes it alone.'

—MALCOLM GLADWELL, *OUTLIERS*

tional people: smart people, rich people, successful people, people who operate at the extreme outer edge of what is statistically possible. Robert Oppenheimer. Bill Gates. The Beatles. And yes, fancy lawyers.

Gladwell's goal is to adjust our understanding of how people like that get to where they are. Instead of the Horatio Alger story of success—a gifted child who through heroic striving within a meritocratic system becomes a successful (rich, famous, fill in your life goal here) adult—*Outliers* tells a story about the context in which success takes place: family, culture, friendship, childhood, accidents of birth and history and geography. "It's not enough to ask what successful people are like," Gladwell writes. "It is only by





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HEALTH, PAGE 53

Life

FOOD HEALTH EDUCATION



FOOD Nitro- Scrambled Eggs. Home cooks, meet molecular gastronomy

BY LISA McLAUGHLIN

BLESS-THIS-MESS CHEFS looking to make something more exotic than green-bean casserole this holiday season are in luck. Fall brings a trio of cookbooks from world-renowned molecular gastronomists whose kitchens look a bit like chemistry labs, with all those centrifuges and tanks of liquid nitrogen used to make carrot foam and whiskey jellies. This hyper-whimsical style of cooking has caught on at many a celebrated restaurant, but are these books—whose recipes call for ingredients like calcium lactate—even remotely useful for home cooks?

"Absolutely!" says Grant Achatz of Chicago's Alinea Restaurant. "There's a huge misconception that the food here

FANCY FOOD

Breakfast becomes dessert in The Big Fat Duck Cookbook

WHAT'S IN IT

- 1 Candied bacon
- 2 Nitro-scrambled-egg ice cream
- 3 Pain perdu

One molecular technique poised to hit home kitchens is *sous vide*, in which meat is vacuum-sealed and poached at a very low temperature, producing supermoist and flavorful dishes. In December, Thomas Keller, who has two three-star restaurants, will publish *Under Pressure* (Artisan; \$75), which offers *sous vide* recipes just as a slew of home *sous vide* equipment hits store shelves. The future is almost here. Start making counter space for the antigridle.

Crazy Cookbooks. A look at the art and science of molecular gastronomy



Sumptuous reading Three new books serve as a record of complex dishes as they are prepared at acclaimed restaurants—with few, if any, accommodations for the home cook

THE DISHES

**THE BIG FAT DUCK
COOKBOOK**

Snail porridge
Playful twist on escargot

WHAT'S IN IT

- 1 Braised snail
- 2 Duck ham
- 3 Oats and parsley butter, pureed in an über-food processor



A DAY AT ELBULLI

Folie salad

Fish-oil foam is heavy on flavor

WHAT'S IN IT

- 1** Preserved tuna-oil air
- 2** Yogurt globules made from goat milk
- 3** Baby artichokes



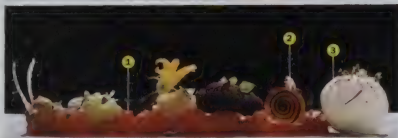
ALINEA

Tomato

Edible comic strip

WHAT'S IN IT

- 1 Tomato strip
- 2 Saffron-and-molasses spiral
- 3 Mozzarella balloon puffed with nitrogen dioxide



HEALTH

Drive-By Flu Shots.

More hospitals are offering curbside vaccinations. Sure, it's convenient, but is it safe?

VITAL STATS

200,000

Number of U.S. flu patients expected to be hospitalized this year

70%-90%

Flu-shot success rate among healthy people under the age of 65

BY LAURA FITZPATRICK

IN LAS VEGAS, YOU CAN GET cash, booze, even a wedding license at a drive-through, so why not a flu shot? With a record 140 million flu vaccinations expected to be administered this year in the U.S., hospitals and health clinics from Norwood, Mass., to Randolph County, Ala., have started offering drive-by shootings, using concern about the regular old flu to help prep for outbreaks of potentially far graver diseases like avian flu and anthrax.

The curbside care is simple: you pull up, read about the risks and sign a consent form, then bare your bicep and get a shot—all without leaving the driver's



seat. In October in Lynchburg, Va., the Central Virginia Health District's first drive-by clinic served 300 patients in 3½ hours. That's less than 45 seconds per vaccination (and no time cooped up in a room with possible germ spreaders).

But critics say that the process is dangerous and that the last place you want to be if something goes wrong is speeding down the highway. It takes time to hash out the

risk factors associated with flu shots, such as being allergic to eggs or already having a fever when you get vaccinated. "Vaccines are not innocuous," says Barbara Loe Fisher, president of the National Vaccine Information Center, a consumer-led nonprofit in Vienna, Va. "We don't support a drive-by as if you're ordering a bottle of spring water."

Still, Dr. Kerry Gateley, Central Virginia's health director, says doctors' offices dole out the shots almost as quickly. The biggest risk, he adds, may be that some drivers get woozy after the shot. "If anybody was looking a little pale," he says, "we had a place for them to pull over." Reclining seat backs optional. ■

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EDUCATION

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BY KATHLEEN KINGSBURY

LET'S NOT WASTE ANYONE'S TIME OR MONEY. You won't find that phrase emblazoned on a T shirt, but it's essentially the motto of Western Governors University (WGU), a private online school that has worked hard to prove it is anything but a diploma mill.

Established 11 years ago by the governors of 19 states, the virtual university—which is administered from Salt Lake City—has experienced a surge in admissions as more college students look for low-cost alternatives. Enrollment topped 10,000 last spring,

growing at a rate of 40% in both 2006 and 2007.

Some 4 million Americans sign up for a distance-learning course each year, whether at an extension of a bricks-and-mortar institution or at an online-only school. Although the latter category is populated mostly by for-profit companies, WGU stands out as a nonprofit funded mainly by tuition and the \$20 million in seed money supplied by those 19 governors. To help bolster its reputation, the school obtained accreditation from both regional standard bearers and the National Council



MONITOR: KINGSBURY/GETTY



GOOD MORNING.

for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE), the professional body recognized by the U.S. Department of Education for certifying teacher-preparation programs. (WGU remains the only online institution that has NCATE's seal of approval.) Such moves were designed to "lend WGU more legitimacy as an educational institution," says Health and Human Services Secretary Mike Leavitt, who helped found the school when he was governor of Utah.

Today WGU is the nation's largest supplier of math and science teachers in urban school districts. And its alumni are hired by such FORTUNE 500 companies as Microsoft and AT&T. "[WGU] has earned a reputation for producing high-quality graduates, particularly in education," says Kevin Kinser, a professor at New York's University of Albany who studies online learning and is not affiliated with WGU.

The school's success is owed in large part to its competency-based approach. Instead of requiring that students take specific courses or amass a certain number of credit hours—as most colleges do—WGU asks only that students demonstrate mastery of the subject matter via online exams or papers that could take a day or a decade, depending on the student.

WGU has no full-time instructors, at least not in the conventional sense. Course work for its four majors—education, IT, business and health care—is developed by and licensed from outside vendors. But WGU does have about 250 full-time faculty members who work as mentors, checking in with students by phone every couple of weeks to ensure they are making progress in their courses and to recommend additional resources. "I get to know each of my students

REPORT CARD

10,000

Number of students enrolled at the online-only Western Governors University

1

WGU's ranking as a supplier of math and science teachers in urban school districts

\$6,000

Cost of two six-month terms at WGU, a sixth of the average annual tab at private four-year colleges

much better than I did when I lectured to them once a week in class," says Alisa Izumi, a business professor at WGU who lives in Granby, Mass., and used to teach at the University of Massachusetts at Amherst.

At \$3,000 per six-month semester, WGU charges a sixth of the average annual tab at private four-year colleges and half as much as an online for-profit like the University of Phoenix, a mega virtual school that has some 200,000 students. And WGU lets you take as many courses as you can fit in a semester, which means some students are able to finish an undergraduate degree in as little as two years. "Before WGU, I would have had to drive almost two hours to Richmond," says Sandy Newsome, a teacher in rural Virginia who is getting her master's in math education. "Learning this all from home seems so much smarter." Sure does. ■



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THOMAS GROSE ON CORPORATES FOR CRISIS

Global Business

PHARMACEUTICALS TOP BUSINESS TEAMS

PHARMACEUTICALS

Heparin's Deadly Side Effects. A

TIME investigation of China's drug industry shows that in the fight for profits, safety suffers

BY BILL POWELL/SHANGHAI

LEROY HUBLEY, 72, MARRIED FOR 48 YEARS and a father of three, has lived through tragedy no one should endure once, and he did so twice in the span of a month. Bonnie Hubley, his wife, had polycystic kidney disease, in which cysts grow in the kidneys, often becoming so large that the kidneys fail and have to be replaced. All of the Hubley children inherited the genetic disease. In 1995, Bonnie had a kidney transplant, and in October of last year, her body began to reject the replacement kidney, requiring her to start dialysis.

A month earlier and half a world away, a team of quality-control specialists from Baxter International, the big multinational health-care company (2007 sales: \$11.26 billion) based in Deerfield, Ill., arrived in Zhejiang province, China, about two hours by car from Shanghai, to inspect a facility owned by one of its key suppliers. CZ SPL is a joint venture controlled by Scientific Protein Laboratories LLC (SPL), a Waunakee, Wis., company started in 1976 by Oscar Meyer, of hot dog fame. (The connection: pigs naturally produce proteins used in pharmaceuticals.) CZ SPL makes a key ingredient, what in the pharmaceutical business is called an active pharmaceutical ingredient, or API, for a drug called

Tragedy Leroy Hubley, 72, lost his wife and son to heparin-related complications



Tainted Dairy farmers experienced heavy losses after some were discovered to have diluted milk with melamine. The incident is evidence of China's food-safety issues

heparin, a blood thinner that is widely used by kidney-dialysis and postsurgical patients to prevent blood clots. The team found little unusual and gave the facility a clean bill of health.

On Dec. 17, after two months of dialysis using heparin produced by Baxter, Bonnie Hubley was rushed into intensive care. She had developed diarrhea, vomiting and eventually severe pain in her chest and abdomen. She deteriorated rapidly and by Dec. 19 was unconscious and on a breathing tube. Stunned doctors at the Toledo, Ohio, hospital told Leroy there was no hope. "She was gone," he says. So with "Christmas carols playing in the background," he says, "we said our goodbyes, and my wife of 48 years drifted away."

Three weeks later, his 47-year-old son Randy, also a dialysis patient and a heparin user, suddenly had symptoms similar to those that had killed his mother. Shockingly, he died on Jan. 15, as his wife Colleen, a dialysis nurse (they had met at the clinic years earlier), frantically and futilely tried to revive him. An uncomprehending family buried Randy Hubley next to his mother in Toledo.

Now add tainted baby milk to a seemingly unending stream of foods, drugs, pet foods and toys that over the past two years

have killed or injured thousands worldwide. These products all have three words in common: **MADE IN CHINA**. A large state-owned Chinese company, Sanlu Group, based in Hebei province in central China, as well as several smaller companies, apparently diluted milk products with an additive called melamine. Industrial-grade melamine is a masking agent used to hide the dilution of protein, in this case in milk products, including an infant formula widely popular in China. Nearly 53,000 small children in China have developed kidney stones, four have died, and product recalls have spread to 11 countries, including the U.S. The recall list includes seven instant-coffee and milk-tea products made in Taiwan using Chinese milk. (Melamine also tainted the pet food that harmed so many animals in the U.S. last year.)

As China rapidly becomes the world's workshop, supplying everything from Thomas the Tank Engine toys to computer chips to blood thinners, the world is coming to understand what Chinese citizens have known for quite a while. The country's growth—and intense competition among manufacturers in industry after industry—has gone far beyond the government's ability to regulate the economy effectively. In an ostensibly com-

munist country, unfettered competition combined with nonexistent or, in many cases, corrupt government oversight has often produced a race to the bottom among businesses. Competition based on cost, in which manufacturers eke out slim profits by underpricing rivals, is by far the dominant industrial strategy. China, in short, is where the U.S. was in the early 20th century when Upton Sinclair wrote *The Jungle*, his seminal work about the horrifying conditions in the meatpacking industry.

The milk scandal is simply the latest and not by any means the most lethal example of the dark side of Chinese capitalism. The heparin case, in fact, has been far deadlier. Last summer the Food and Drug Administration updated the estimated death toll worldwide associated with tainted heparin to 149. As more and more pharmaceuticals are sourced in developing countries—an estimated \$1.5 billion from China and India alone in 2007, according to a study by Credit Suisse—the heparin case has raised a fundamental question in the U.S. and the rest of the developed world: How safe are our drugs?

The answer is, Not nearly safe enough. What happened from September 2007, when the Baxter safety inspectors arrived and left, to the end of the year, when deaths and illnesses apparently related to use of the drug began to occur, is a tale of the risks global companies take in engaging the cutthroat ethos that is the underside of China's reform.

It is jarring to see where a drug like heparin begins. Liu Jing, a cheerful 36-year-old, is stomping around in pig poop and mud in knee-high boots. He is a farmer in Jiangsu province, north of Shanghai, where providing the raw ingredients for heparin is a big business. Liu's farm produces a key source of heparin: pig intestines. (Heparin is derived from the mucous membranes in the intestines.) Nearly half the world's pigs are in China, so companies like SPL have set up shop. In SPL's case, it first began buying raw heparin in 1996, established its own production facility to make the API in 2000 and began selling to Baxter, among others, in 2004. More than half the heparin sold—for Baxter alone it was a \$30 million business last year—is made from pig guts bought in China.

THE SUPPLY CHAIN FOR HEPARIN INGREDIENTS



The exact source of the contamination is not known

The contamination was not detected in the U.S.

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Farmers like Liu sell to small-scale companies—often family-run businesses—that process the intestines into crude heparin, which in turn becomes the key ingredient for the heparin that Baxter and other major drug firms sell worldwide. SPL's CEO, David Strunce, told Congress last spring that the raw material comes from "government-regulated slaughterhouses." But that regulation, farmers in Jiangsu told *TIME*, is haphazard at best. And if the slaughterhouses are haphazardly regulated, the small heparin-processing businesses—hundreds of them across the country—are virtually unregulated. "We haven't ever had the government come and inspect our operation," said a processor in Jiangsu whose given name is Chang and who didn't offer his family name.

SPL in Changzhou says it relies on two companies—its joint-venture partner, Changzhou Techpool, as well as a Hangzhou-based firm, Ruihua Biomedical Products Co.—to buy its crude heparin. Strunce has described them as meticulous in ensuring the quality of the crude heparin they buy for SPL. But several small suppliers told *TIME* they have sold directly to SPL or have been approached by the company, looking for product. And when FDA inspectors showed up in Hangzhou this year, after reports of a spike in deaths and illness, Ruihua Biomedical stiff-armed the investigators. It refused to let them inspect its processing lab and declined to provide a list of crude-heparin suppliers. Before last summer, SPL's China facility had never been inspected by Beijing's drug-safety agency because, says a spokesman, the agency thought "it was a chemical plant." A source close to the FDA's heparin investigation puts it bluntly: "China simply has no regulatory regime to speak of."

That judgment gains credence from a simple fact: the heparin disaster goes beyond Baxter, SPL and their suppliers—none of whom have been charged with wrongdoing and all of whom say they are cooperating with regulators to find out where problems arose in the supply chain and why. French pharmaceutical giant Sanofi Aventis told French regulators and the FDA that it too had found and recalled tainted heparin last spring. (Baxter pulled all its heparin from the market last January.) In April, deputy FDA commissioner Janet Woodcock said the agency had traced the contaminated heparin API, which ultimately found its way to companies like Baxter in 11 countries, to 12 separate Chinese companies. To date, those 12 firms have not been identified by the FDA, Baxter or SPL. But the "working hypothesis," as Woodcock put it, is that the contamination



Poisoned Li Xiao Yu and Wang Rui Da pose with their baby, one of nearly 53,000 children who became sick after ingesting melamine-contaminated milk

was intentional. In other words, it was not the result of the filth from which crude heparin emerges. "It was economic fraud," said a senior U.S. official.

Why intentional? To cut costs. Heparin suppliers substituted a chemical—oversulfated chondroitin sulfate, or oscs—that is derived from animal cartilage and used only in dietary supplements, not in medicines. The compound's key advantages: it is, as a Baxter spokeswoman puts it, a "virtual mimic of heparin" in most tests and, according to a congressional investigator, costs only \$20 per kg, vs. \$2,000 for crude heparin. The suppliers, investigators believe, colluded to substitute oscs in the crude heparin they passed along for the standard price and pocketed the \$1,980 difference for each kilogram they sold.

Working with Baxter, the FDA devised a test that now identifies oscs in heparin. The FDA will deploy eight full-time staffers in China, including four inspectors and a senior technical expert in foods, medicines and medical devices. And working with its counterpart agency in Beijing—which FDA commissioner Andrew Van Eschenbach acknowledges is primarily responsible for drug safety there—the FDA will now be able to do "more timely" inspections in China. In 2008 the FDA did all of 30 inspections in China.

A source close to the FDA's heparin investigation puts it bluntly: 'China simply has no regulatory regime to speak of.'

But where agencies may lack muscle, the personal-injury bar doesn't. To date, plaintiff attorneys have filed 60 suits against Baxter and SPL in federal court. SPL CEO Strunce can claim his company's heparin met Chinese standards, but that's probably a meaningless defense in a U.S. trial. For American drug companies using sources in China, quality control is not just China's problem—it's also their problem.

In any event, it's too late for Johanna Staples, a kindergarten teacher whose husband Dennis, a popular disc jockey in Toledo, Ohio, died of a reaction to tainted heparin in January, a day shy of his 60th birthday. She says she's still afraid. "There are so many variables in how we receive our drugs that it's amazing there hasn't been a worse problem. Now look at all these kids sick in China because of tainted milk. Sometimes I get in a sheer panic thinking about it."



Jessica is there for Tom's
wife and kids.



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Boots and suits Directors, from left, Hashemi, Butler and Slim

TOP BUSINESS TEAMS

Extracting Good from Good Works.

Corporates for Crisis applies a new twist to operating in difficult environments

BY THOMAS K. GROSE/LONDON

ED BUTLER, MANAGING DIRECTOR OF CORPORATES FOR CRISIS (CforC), calls his London consultancy a "boots and suits" operation. Not only are he and his fellow directors—Sahar Hashemi and Hugo Slim—willing to don heavy-duty footwear and head to some of the world's toughest regions, but so are the teams of experts they assemble to implement projects on behalf of multinational clients. Says Slim: "Most other consultants don't go into the field."

CforC is the brainchild of Christopher James, a former special-forces officer and diplomat who founded Hakluyt, a business-intelligence firm. After the December 2004 Asian tsunami, some big companies contacted James, wanting to know if the millions of dollars they had donated to relief efforts had been put to good use and if they had gotten any recognition for their help.

The answers weren't positive. That's when James decided that there had to be a better way for global businesses to help the developing countries they operate in—many of which have been hard hit by disasters, natural and man-made—while at the same time receiving accountability.

So James, who is chairman, launched CforC in October 2007 to assist multinationals in emerging, postcrisis countries, particularly in Asia and Africa, by getting them directly involved in local humanitarian, developmental or environmental proj-

'This is what we call a license to operate. Once you gain the trust of a community, you're safer there.'

—SAHAR HASHEMI, CFORC, ON OPERATING IN DEVELOPING NATIONS

ects. Multinationals, CforC reckons, have a huge capacity for doing good in these regions, and the goodwill their efforts engender can make it easier for them to do business, thus bolstering their bottom line. "This is what we call a license to operate," Hashemi explains. "Once you gain the trust of a community, you're safer there." Butler, a former army brigadier who commanded British forces in southern Afghanistan, calls it "soft security."

CforC's team-based leadership structure draws on the operations and planning skills of a military commander (Butler), the business acumen of an entrepreneur (Hashemi, who co-founded a successful espresso-bar chain called Coffee Republic) and the humanitarian know-how of someone involved in nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)—that's Slim, an academic who worked for a number of agencies, including the U.N. and Save the Children U.K.

The team concept also extends to the field. CforC, which is building a core staff of 20, can tap into a network of experts it has assembled, who number 30 so far and range from ex-officers and diplomats to former business executives and NGO operatives. For each project, it convenes small teams of staff and associates, mixing and matching skill sets to meet the client's needs. For example, Slim says, a team may have "a human-rights person, an environmentalist and a private-equity expert—now that's pretty wacky."

That kind of diversity, however, means CforC teams "look at the world in a new way and can create something new," Slim says. For instance, he adds, "it allows us to think seamlessly about our clients' social and core business interests, recommending community and commercial opportunities simultaneously." Each team is given a mission, resources and a deadline. "Then we let them go and do it," Butler says. Telecom giant Vodafone, which recently bought Ghana Telecom, is using CforC to help it find useful projects in Ghana to get involved in. CforC's team includes an African anthropologist, an academic expert on aid flow in Ghana and a former NGO executive. Says Vodafone chairman John Bond enthusiastically: "CforC works in some extremely difficult parts of the world, and they know what's needed. They're an enormously talented team." There may be a comfort factor too in that CforC is a business for which profit isn't a dirty word. Yet it is close enough to the NGO world to understand the kinds of projects that are most critic-proof.

Its resourcefulness seems to be paying off. As CforC enters its second year, Butler says, its business plan is on track, despite the economic slowdown. Memo to team members: Better keep your boots handy. ■

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The *Shield*'s unflinching
rawness has made it as
disturbing as any HBO drama

TELEVISION, PAGE 59

Arts

MOVIES TELEVISION BOOKS SHORT LIST



MOVIES

**Bourne-Again
Bond.** In the fast-
paced *Quantum
of Solace*, 007 is a
glum stud out to
settle a score

BY RICHARD CORLISS

HE HAS A STOLID FACE AND SOLID musculature, which we know because he goes topless more than his leading ladies do. He has vigorous skirmishes on roofs, in cars and in hotel rooms. He takes as severe a beating—and shows as much emotion—as a crash-test dummy. He's a government spy whom his government wants dead, and he's mourning the violent death of his girlfriend. He resembles another famous agent that you half expect him to say, "The name is Bourne. Jason Bourne."

He's shaken,
she's stirring
Cruz and
Kurylenko
on a voyage of
revenge

The hero of *Quantum of Solace* is James Bond, headlining the 22nd "official" film in the series, stretching back to *Dr. No* in 1962, based on the character created by Ian Fleming and overseen by the Broccoli family. But in movie history, 46 years is a long time—nearly half the life span of feature-length movies themselves—and a film franchise, like any organism, must adapt to survive. The 007 of *Quantum of Solace* is not your grandfather's Bond, the suave, larkish Etonian whose success as the movies' alpha male sparked dozens, possibly hundreds of imitators in the 1960s spy genre.

He may not be Fleming's Bond either. The early novels were intended as light entertainments; they inhabited a world in which an überstud with refined tastes (the right car, martini recipe, cigarette) also accessorized by bedding beautiful, willing, duplicitous women; it's no coincidence that 007 and *Playboy* were the prime male icons of the Eisenhower-Kennedy era. Bond occasionally engaged in fistfights with a brigand, but that was just a different kind of workout. As played by Sean Connery and Roger Moore from the '60s through the '80s, Bond greeted each new threat to his life with an upper class smile.

Daniel Craig plays Bond now, and his turn in *Casino Royale* in 2006 hit the reset button on the franchise. Like the Christian Bale *Batman Begins*, the Craig *Casino* showed a young man taking his first steps toward superhero status. He was stern and ferocious, similar to protagonists in the grittier, glummer, more violent action-adventure films of the past few years. The new 007 was the ultimate fighter, not the ultimate lover. And like Jason Bourne, who woke up one day having forgotten his identity, the Bond series acquired a selective amnesia that erased whole areas of the franchise. Gone were Bond's double-entendre jokes, his easy connoisseurship, the suggestion that life was a game in which he luckily held the high cards. Now it's kill or be killed. The evils of the world are too daunting to be met with a smirk.

Craig's Bond, already a noble thug in *Casino*, has a deeper reason for moodiness here: the love of his life has just died. Vesper Lynd (Eva Green) was a British Treasury agent whose motives Bond misinterpreted, leading to her selfless suicide. *Quantum*, the first true sequel in the series, begins an hour after *Casino* ended. Bond wins a frantic car chase, and in his trunk is a prize for his M16 boss, M (Judi Dench): a board member of the outlaw cartel once known as SPECTRE, now called Quantum. Instantly, Bond is running in all directions: pursuing and eluding a Quantum biggie named Dominic Greene (Mathieu Amalric), hooking up with Bolivian siren

Bond Girls Are Forever. Five spy vamps for the ages



Ursula Andress

Dr. No, 1962

Emerging from the sea in a bikini, this first Bond girl set the style for being both cool and hot-hot-hot



Diana Rigg

On Her Majesty's Secret Service, 1969

From *The Avengers'* Emma Peel to Mrs. 007, Rigg was cool, smart and poignant



Grace Jones

A View to a Kill, 1985

As a 'roided-up villainess, this disco diva got a B+ for scary, an A+ for sexy



Michelle Yeoh

Tomorrow Never Dies, 1997

Queen of Hong Kong action films, Yeoh dished out a licking and kept on kicking



Eva Green

Casino Royale, 2006

Bond felt heart and soul for Green, the millennium's most luscious new star

Camille (Olga Kurylenko) and riding his own obsession to avenge Vesper's death.

Bond Villains, Bond Girls

FLEMING DIVIDED HIS SUPERVILLAINS INTO two categories: the bon vivant industrialists whose good cheer hid wicked intentions, and the sneering, solitary madmen plotting universal suffering like a sick nerd in his basement. They were alike though in being chatty brainiac megalomaniacs whose compulsion to explain exactly how they were going to kill Bond (and take over the world) gave him enough time to kill them. Although the novels and the early Bond movies took place during the Cold War, their villains were rarely Soviet

operatives; they were closer to those free-lance fruitcakes of pulp fantasy fiction, Fu Manchu and Ming the Merciless. Issuing dreadful warnings, plotting mass destruction from remote redoubts and sending their thugs to do the dirty work, the Scaramangas and Ernst Stavro Blofelds of Bond fiction could have been the secular antecedents of Osama bin Laden.

That kind of bad guy is no joke these days, so screenwriters Paul Haggis, Neal Purvis and Robert Wade pick their *Quantum* villain from Column A. Greene is a billionaire tycoon who uses environmental philanthropy to mask his plan to divert water from the peasants of South America. (Bolivia is the new Chinatown.) Amalric, the French actor often seen in harried, sympathetic roles like the paralyzed writer in *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly*, is effectively reptilian here, his whispers tinged with menace, his smile hinting at sadism.

We cotton to his motives early on, when he passes Camille, a former plaything, over to Bolivian strongman General Medrano (Joaquín Cosío). Turns out Camille, like Bond, has a score to settle: she has lost her mother and daughter to Medrano's depredations. This time, for both of them, it's personal; hero and heroine percolate silently, sulfurously, with vengeance scenarios that may somehow intersect. Kurylenko, a lovely Russian-Ukrainian hybrid who is oddly dusky up to look vaguely Latina, does an exemplary job raising the movie's temperature and luring Bond out of his shell.

That's tough work, since Craig, appealingly sturdy in *Casino*, is near mute here: a cyber- or cipher-Bond with a loyalty chip implanted in a mechanism that's built for murderous ingenuity. "If you could avoid killing every possible lead," M tells him, "it would be deeply appreciated." As played by Dench with a nice mix of the brusque and the maternal, M must be more than Bond's superior; she is his enabler, protector and shrink. Yet Craig's Bond isn't given to soul-searching. He's a brute acting on instinct: Rambo of Her Majesty's Secret Service.

Well, an action figure, real or plastic, is just what this brisk exercise (the shortest Bond film ever) needs. Director Marc Forster—whose résumé includes a lot of gimmicky art-house fare, from *Finding Neverland* to *The Kite Runner*—does much better when he has no moral in tow; he can concentrate on shepherding the second-unit stunt work and setting a tempo of nearly nonstop suspense. What's lost in reverberations from the series' blithe old movies is gained in daredevil vigor.

So don't sit shivah over that anachronistic 007. Just enjoy a pulverizing action-adventure film whose hero happens to be named Jason Bourne—sorry, James Bond. ■

TELEVISION

To (Self-)Serve and Protect. As *The Shield* ends its run, a corrupt, effective cop's ways catch up with him—and us



The law on the run Mackey (Chiklis, with Goggins, at right) is now pursuer and pursued

BY JAMES PONIEWOZIK

IN ONE OF THE LAST EPISODES OF *THE Shield*, whose series finale airs Nov. 25, corrupt former L.A. cop Vic Mackey (Michael Chiklis) takes a meeting with a drug boss. Mackey has brought him a big dope deal with another gang—secretly setting him up in order to secure for himself an immunity deal with the feds for a list of crimes that starts with murder and continues the length of your arm. The kingpin offers him a drink to take off the “edge.” Mackey refuses. “The edge is where we live,” he says. “People try to convince themselves otherwise. It’s just an exercise in self-deception.”

For seven intense seasons, *The Shield* (FX, Tuesdays, 10 p.m. E.T.) has not just lived on that edge. It’s sprinted along it, panting and veins bulging. In the pilot, Mackey—who with his antigang unit, the Strike Team, has been skimming seized drug money—learns that one of his crew is an undercover fed. Mackey puts a bullet in his head.

Mackey, clearly, is a bad cop. (Or was, until he recently turned in his badge as the series began its endgame.) That would not be interesting for long if it weren’t for the fact that Mackey was also a very good cop. He nails criminals other police couldn’t

get—albeit using shady deals and the occasional beatdown with a steel chain. He’s a shameless racist, yet he lives to take down crooks who prey on one of L.A.’s poorest and brownest neighborhoods. He’s a brutal thug and a loving dad.

The show’s themes and Chiklis’ brooding, minotaur-like physicality invite comparison with that Urtext of male antiheroes, *The Sopranos*. But our relationship with Mackey is more complicated—and self-implicating—than ours was with Tony Soprano. Tony was roughish and funny; we even rooted for him against other Mob bosses. But we had more distance from him because he was a criminal and a sociopath, beyond redemption and beyond our experience.

Vic Mackey may not be one of us either. But he is one of ours. He’s a monster who takes down other monsters, in our name. And while the Soprano clan was cozy in a suburban McMansion, Mackey is a

Mackey was Dick Cheney with stronger pecs, going to the dark side to do what couldn’t get done the pretty way

civil servant with a crappy paycheck, an ex-wife and two autistic kids who need special schooling. It’s not an excuse; he’s surrounded by cops who could go the easy route and don’t, like Captain Claudette Wyms (the outstanding C.C.H. Pounder), who’s investigating Vic but won’t cut corners to do it. But it is a reason.

When *The Shield* debuted in spring 2002, it was hard not to see it as a 9/11 parable. Mackey was Dick Cheney with stronger pecs, going to the dark side to do what couldn’t get done the pretty way. *The Shield* asked—as did 24, in a more gung-ho fashion—how much brutality we are willing to accept for our safety.

But as *The Shield* winds down, the social trade-offs have yielded the spotlight to the personal ones. From the start, Mackey rationalized his thieving in the name of his kids. The idea—the same big lie that justifies a million little compromises in ordinary lives—was that he could insulate his kin from the consequences of his actions, taking the moral bullet for them.

The Shield’s endgame dispels that myth. Mackey’s corruption has poisoned every relationship he’s had. As police investigators close in on the Strike Team’s scams, his former disciple Shane (Walton Goggins) has turned on him, trying to kill him, then going on the lam with his pregnant wife and sick son (concern for whose welfare does not keep Mackey from trying to have Shane and his wife whacked). Another Strike Team member is dead, murdered by Shane for fear he might squeal. And Mackey is almost completely estranged from his kids, who along with his ex-wife—whom he’s made complicit in his cover-ups—stand to be ruined if he goes down.

The Shield’s unflinchingness, and creator Shawn Ryan’s brutal writing, has made it as disturbing as any HBO drama. The final episodes are even more so. Seeing Shane’s toddler on the run with him and his wife is almost unbearable, and Goggins plays the pathetic, mentally overmatched Shane like a cornered rat. Chiklis, meanwhile, is masterly. He defined Mackey with his Mr. Clean physique, but his most valuable body parts are his eyes. To the end, as his options narrow and it becomes clear Mackey has destroyed everything he’s tried to build, they dart about, looking for the exit, one last scam that will fix everything.

Shield fans have long debated what kind of end Mackey deserves. I won’t characterize the finale, except to say it proves Mackey is not so different from the people he disparages to the drug boss. Yes, he lives on the edge and embraces it. But for him, self-deception is not just an exercise; it’s an Olympic sport. Fittingly and terribly, *The Shield* carries him across the finish line. ■

BOOKS

The Broken Book.

Roberto Bolaño's 2666 is bizarre, enigmatic, 898 pages—and the year's most exciting novel



FIRST LINE

The first time that Jean-Claude Pelletier read Benno von Archimboldi was Christmas 1980, in Paris...

BY LEV GROSSMAN

THERE COULD BE NOBODY BETTER suited to describe the hilarious, improbable triumph of Roberto Bolaño than Bolaño himself, which is a terrible shame because he's dead. At the time of his death, from liver disease, in 2003, Bolaño was a major writer in the Spanish-speaking world but virtually unknown and untranslated in English. Why that should be is not much of a mystery. Bolaño, who was born in Chile and spent most of his life in Mexico and Spain, is a difficult, angry, self-reflexive writer who lived an erratic and occasionally unpleasant life. And Americans, as the head of the Swedish Academy has annoyingly but rightly pointed out, don't read much fiction in translation.

But when Bolaño's novel *The Savage Detectives*—a massive, bizarre epic about a band of avant-garde Mexican poets—was published in the U.S. last year, it instantly became a cult hit among readers and practically a fetish object to critics. Bolaño's

other major novel, *2666*, is even more massive and more bizarre. It is also a masterpiece, and its publication in English translation by Farrar, Straus & Giroux on Nov. 11 is the most electrifying literary event of the year. With *2666*, Bolaño's posthumous conquest of America is complete.

The 898 pages of *2666* are divided into five parts. The first concerns four literary critics—three men and a woman, all friends, all Europeans, all authorities on a mysterious German novelist named Archimboldi, whom none of them have ever met. Eventually they get a tip that Archimboldi has been seen in a backwater town in northern Mexico called Santa Teresa. But by the time they get there, the trail has gone cold.



Roberto Bolaño Born in Chile, he died in Spain at age 50

From that suspended moment—with the smell of revelation in the air but the actual article nowhere to be found, as if the author had accidentally left it in his other coat—*2666* tacks sideways into the mind of a philosophy professor who teaches in Santa Teresa and may slowly be going insane, and then again into another genre entirely, a hard-boiled yarn about a journalist sent to Santa Teresa from New York City to cover a boxing match. It becomes clear only in the book's fourth section that Bolaño is performing these lateral leaps the better to observe from all sides the book's true subject: the horrific serial rape and murder of hundreds of women in and around Santa Teresa.

Part 4 (it's called "The Part About the Crimes," as if it were a *Friends* episode) consists of a ruthlessly precise forensic catalog of those killings, complete with torn nylons and vaginal swabs, along with the stories of the victims and the investigating detectives. It is a police procedural straight from the precinct of hell. It is also as bravura a display of novelistic mastery and as devastating a reading experience as you are likely ever to encounter. By the time Archimboldi does show up in Part 5, a belated Godot, we are very far past the possibility of any redemptive epiphany.

2666 is not a novel that any critic could describe as brisk or taut. (Not like all those other brisk, taut 898-page novels.) Bolaño is addicted to digressions, unsolved mysteries and seemingly extraneous details that actually do turn out to be extraneous. He loves trotting out characters we will never encounter a second time—a habit that can be exhausting. And whenever a character falls asleep, the reader should prepare to hear about his dreams.

But the meandering quality of *2666* has its own logic and its own power, which hits you all the harder because you don't see it coming. How can art, Bolaño asks, a medium of form and meaning, faithfully reflect a world that is blessed with neither? That is in fact a cesspool of randomness and filth? An orderly book, all signal and no noise, would not be a true book. To mirror a broken world, to speak the unspeakable, you need a broken book. That Bolaño should have died and left his book an orphan might even have struck him as appropriate.



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Short List

TIME'S PICKS FOR THE WEEK



1 MOVIE **Slumdog Millionaire**

Everybody say *namaste* to director Danny Boyle's hurtling epic about a poor kid (Dev Patel) who improbably answers tough posers on the Indian edition of *Who Wants to Be a Millionaire?* A masala of romance and history, with true grit plus a fabulous production number—it's what movies ought to be.

2 DVD **The Sopranos: The Complete Series**

It won't tell you whether Tony got whacked (which you might expect for \$400 a pop). But this definitive collection of HBO's definitive drama offers such extras as Q&As with creator David Chase and two trivia-filled cast roundtables held, natch, over dinner. *Mangia!*

3 THEATER **Celebrity Autobiography**

Joan Lunden's wake-up routine. Neil Sedaka's food diary. The Burt Reynolds-Loni Anderson divorce—from *both* sides. These and other excerpts from star memoirs are read off-Broadway with deadpan glee by a rotating cast in the funniest docu-theater stunt of the year.

4 MOVIE **JCVD**

His career and life on the skids, movie stud Jean-Claude Van Damme goes home to Brussels and gets tangled in a bank-heist drama. Director Mabrouk El Mechri weaves real and reel life into a dark meta-comedy. As for the star, he deserves not a black belt but an Oscar.

5 CDS **The Spoken Word**

The British Library culled its archives for recordings of famous authors, with astounding results. A jovial, elderly J.R.R. Tolkien! A wise, patrician Virginia Woolf! And Ian Fleming interviewing Raymond Chandler, who sounds more pickled than hard-boiled.



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Trials of the Transition. The Bush-Obama handover has been notably civil. (F.D.R. considered his predecessor a fat capon)

THE TORCH PASSES ON ELECTION DAY; THE POWER FOLLOWS in January. But in between comes a personal transaction, like the one that just took place at the White House. It's not simply ego that has a way of fouling up this moment. Both parties have an eye on the history books, as the outgoing President airbrushes the epilogue, and the arriving one prepares the prologue.

By historical standards, George W. Bush and Barack Obama were remarkably civil in their Oval Office sum-

mit. They had never engaged in hand-to-hand combat. Despite the loathing for Bush that animates many in his party, Obama ran less against the man than his record. Bush, apparently in an undisclosed location throughout Campaign 2008, seldom had a bad word to say about Obama, beyond privately dismissing him as a naive lefty. He called Obama's victory a "triumph of the American story, a testament to hard work, optimism and faith in the enduring promise of our nation." Obama's team has been quick to praise the Administration for its commitment to continuity at a moment when enemies crouch and markets quiver.

This civility distinguishes Bush and Obama from many past rivals turned fraternity brothers sharing the secret handshake. Bush takes such rituals seriously, and he had tagged Obama long ago, during White House rush. When freshman Senators visited for breakfast in 2005, Obama wrote in 2006, Bush sought him out to offer some advice. "You've got a bright future. Very bright," the President said. "But I've been in this town awhile, and let me tell you, it can be tough." When your star rises fast, people will come after you from all sides, he warned. "So watch yourself."

Three years and 130 million votes later, there is much to talk about—not just plans and protocol but personal challenges: How's the food? Where's the gym? How do you raise two daughters under bright lights, stay fit and strong and sane while managing a job that can eat you alive? This too is a presidential tradition. Outgoing President James Buchanan advised Abe Lincoln that water from the right-hand well was better than from the left, and he shared the secrets of the pantry. During John F. Kennedy's visit the day before his Inauguration, Dwight Eisenhower demonstrated the panic button, instantly summoning an evacuation helicopter to the White House lawn. Fatefully, Lyndon Johnson

gave Richard Nixon a tour of the hidden tape recorders.

There is a rich history of mischief and malice in the interregnum, particularly during the last transfer of power to take place in the middle of a fiscal firestorm. In 1932 it didn't help that the two men neither liked nor trusted each other: Herbert Hoover called Franklin Roosevelt a "chameleon on plaid," while F.D.R. preferred the image of Hoover as a "fat, timid capon." Since Inauguration Day was not until March 1933, there was an urgent need for ac-

tion, but Hoover's efforts to reach out to Roosevelt in the name of bipartisan cooperation were dismissed by critics as an attempt to annul the election and obstruct the New Deal. Hoover called Roosevelt a "madman" for digging in his heels on economics and refusing to compromise, which guaranteed that Roosevelt took the oath of office in an atmosphere of crisis.

It would be 20 years before the Democrats had to hand power back, and this didn't go much better. After the 1952 election, Harry Truman wrote in his diary that Eisenhower was being coy about cooperation: "Ike and his advisers are afraid of some kind of trick. There are no tricks... All I want to do is to make an orderly turnover." When it was Eisenhower's

turn, he was determined to handle things better, and to their mutual surprise, he and Kennedy impressed each other when they met at the White House. The young President later found himself relying on Eisenhower for both private guidance and, after the Bay of Pigs fiasco, some public cover.

And that's another important ritual. Former Presidents tend to rise to the occasion when the call comes from the Oval Office, even if the caller is an adversary. It is an act of patriotism and perhaps pity by men who, knowing what the job entails, are uniquely positioned to help. Obama will take office with at least this advantage: he will have four predecessors with very different skill sets to call on. It's by no means certain who would be the most useful, since the history of these ex-Presidents is full of plot twists. There's Jimmy Carter, the acclaimed humanitarian who has seemed at times to delight in tormenting his successors; Bill Clinton, who has shown he can be a mighty ally or a massive headache; and two men named Bush, who, if their own histories are any guide, might offer the 44th President very different advice, given the chance. ■



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